

SINGLE COPIES. 25 CENTS.

# THE REPUBLIC:

## A MONTHLY MAGAZINE,

DEVOTED TO THE

DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

Vol. VIII—No. 6.

JUNE, 1877.

Whole No. 52.

### Contents:

	PAGE.
Signs of Promise.....	321
General O. H. Lagrange, Superintendent of the San Francisco Mint.....	322
The Silver Question—The Double Standard.....	325
The Development of Submarine Warfare.....	328
The Fisheries Commission.....	331
Life in Texas.....	332
The Depression of the Shipping Interests.....	332
Want of Population in the South.....	333
Running Into Debt.....	334
Agricultural Villages—Farmers' Sons.....	335
Our Eastern Neighbors.....	336
Frederick Douglass.....	337
Perversion of the Press.....	338
Carpet-baggers and Emigrants for the South.....	339
Iron Shipbuilding in the United States.....	341
After the Battle.....	346
Father Boyle and Secretary Thompson.....	349
Decoration Day at Ball's Bluff.....	350
The New Jersey "Great Seal" Case.....	353
Southern Civilization.....	366
An Open Letter from Senator Morton.....	373
Executive and Department Doings.....	378

PUBLISHED BY

The Republic Publishing Company,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

*\$2 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.*

# UNITED STATES PIANO COMPANY.

---

\$290.

---

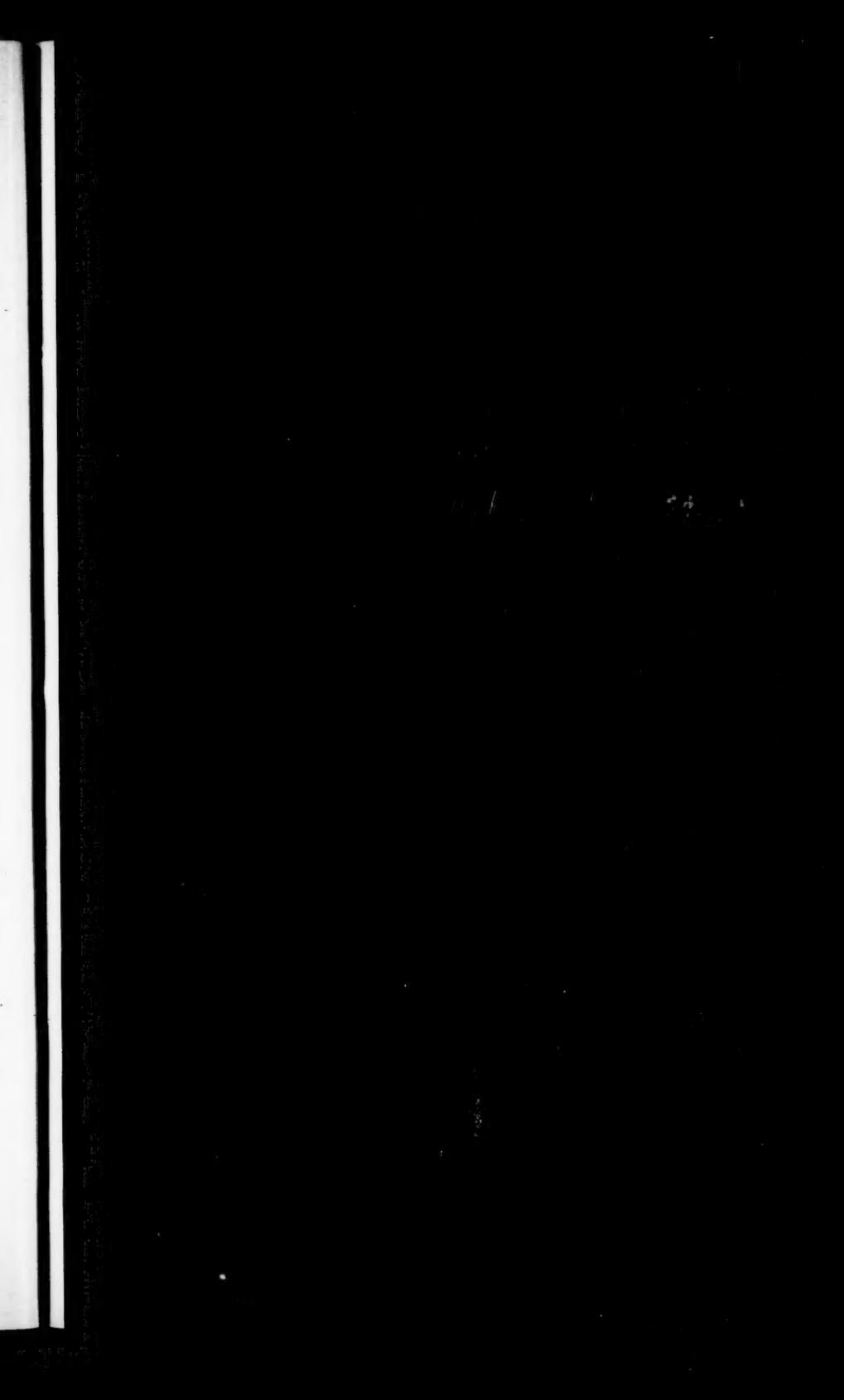
You ask why we can sell first-class  $7\frac{1}{2}$ -Octave Rosewood Pianos for \$290. Our answer is that it costs less than \$300 to make any \$600 Piano sold through Agents, all of whom make 100 per cent. profit. We have no agents, but sell DIRECT to families at factory price, and warrant five years. We send our Pianos everywhere for trial, and require no payment unless they are found satisfactory. Send for Illustrated Circular, which gives full particulars, and contains the names of over 1,500 Bankers, Merchants, and Families that are using our Pianos in every State of the Union. Please state where you saw this notice.

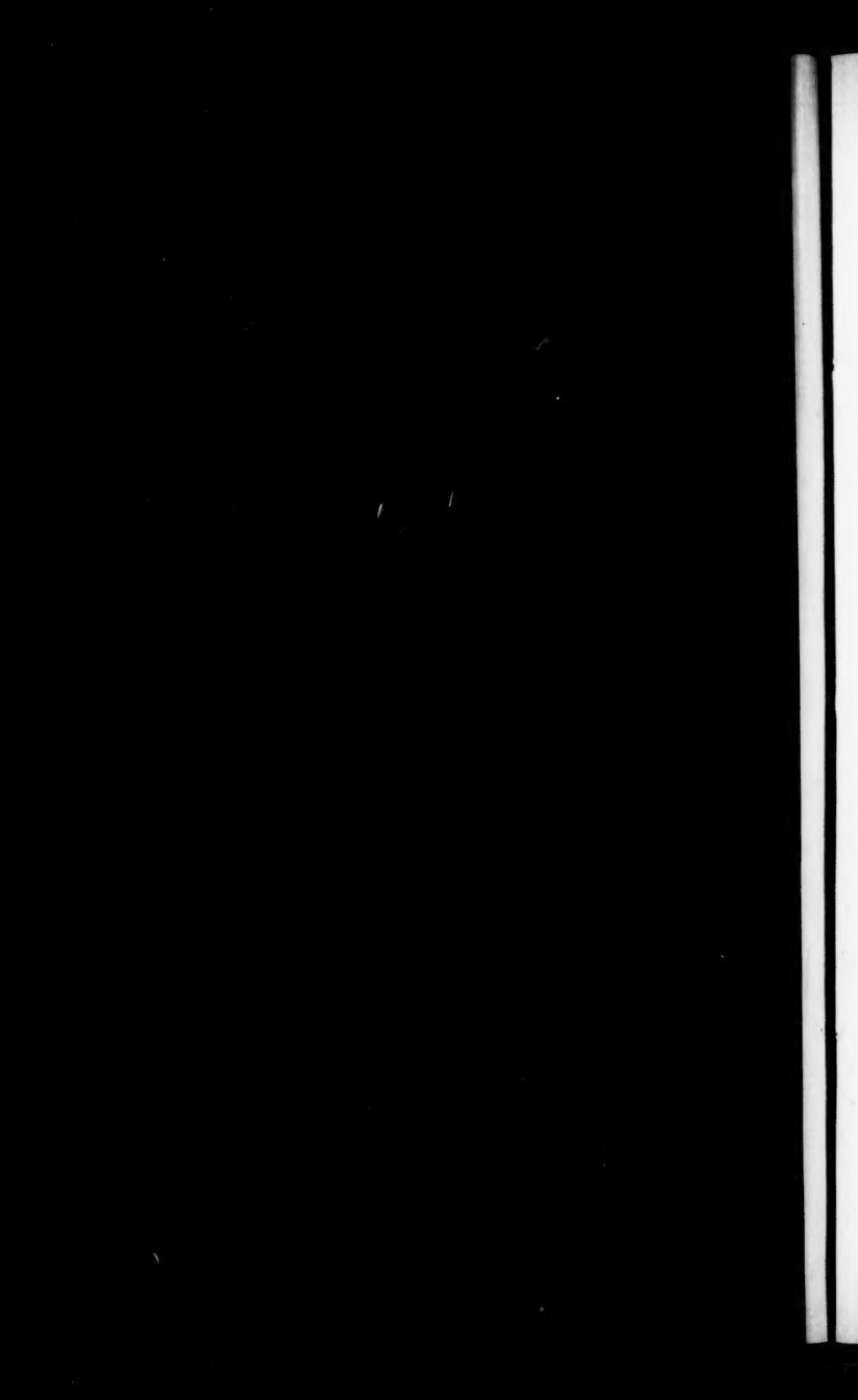
Address—

**United States Piano Company,**

**810 BROADWAY,**

**NEW YORK.**





# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE, 1877.

No. 6.

## SIGNS OF PROMISE.

The friends of good government should find encouragement in the signs of the times. The pacific policy of the Administration is bearing fruit throughout the South in the development of a stronger feeling of good will on the part of Southern men toward those of the North. Exceptional deeds of violence have occurred, like the Chisholm tragedy, to disturb this era of peace, but they are spasmodic in their character and are repudiated by the masses in the Southern States. We look forward to a healthy growth of loyal sentiment and a closer fellowship between sections than we have enjoyed for years. The keen, sharp edge of politics has been blunted, and reasonable men of both parties and every section have joined hands in the patriotic effort to redeem the past, and, as far as possible, secure the hearty co-operation of all good citizens in the future. If the new Administration secures this, it will do more to bring prosperity to our people than a century of political strife.

The business outlook is more hopeful than for months past. The troubles throughout Europe are increasing the demands upon the resources of our country. The balance of trade is largely in our favor, and various branches of industry that have been prostrated for a long time are beginning to revive. If the war be-

tween Russia and Turkey continues, or other nations are drawn into the conflict, we may expect a season of prosperity such as we have been strangers to for years.

With bright promises of good crops, and heavy calls upon our industrial forces, we should do all that can possibly be done to bring about a restoration of confidence in business circles. The country has plenty of money seeking investment; all that is now needed is perfect confidence among business men, to start it in circulation. To invite this confidence, by a proper example on our own part, should be to each citizen a duty.

Our Republic has stood the severest of tests, such as might well have wrecked any nation but our own. The good sense and patriotism of the people provided the means for a peaceful solution of troubles which at one time threatened a disturbance of the peace. As we have triumphed over the political difficulties of the past, so shall we triumph over the business difficulties which are still upon us. We have touched bottom and are beginning to rise. Faith in our neighbors, a determination to recover lost ground, and the exercise of that spirit of energy and enterprise which has made our national character so marked abroad, will soon find us on the flood-tide of prosperity.

## GENERAL O. H. LAGRANGE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO MINT.

The subject of this sketch is one of the most notable men of the Pacific Coast. Both as a soldier and in civil life he has given evidence of the very highest order of ability. Withal he possesses a rare modesty, equalled only by his merit, and so thousands less deserving are more widely known. General Lagrange was born in the State of New York in 1838. His parents removed with their young children to Wisconsin in 1845. This flourishing State was then a sparsely settled Territory, and the pioneers encountered the hardships usual to the settlement of a new country, the best training school in the world for boys. Here Lagrange grew up, and struggling under peculiar difficulties hardened into a robust and vigorous manhood.

Near the humble cabin which sheltered the little family the rude country school-house opened the way to a high career. Here, in the intervals when the labors of the farm permitted, young Lagrange received the rudiments of education. The writer well remembers the bare-foot boy, clad in the plainest garb, and the diligent and faithful habits which even then gave large promise of his future. Better opportunities came in due time as the reward of fidelity to humble duties. He was soon enabled to assist the younger members of the family of which he came to be the head and provider.

Faithful to the claims of kindred he early developed those chivalrous and patriotic sentiments which have always distinguished him. In 1856 the great struggle between liberty and slavery, for the possession of the Continent, was at its height. Kansas was the battle ground. The Northern settlers who had gone thither in good faith, under the most solemn promises of a fair election to determine whether the State should be free or slave, had been overwhelmed by murderous hordes from the South and from the neighboring State of Missouri. Though in a majority of four to one the political power had been wrested from them by the invaders, and a Territorial government set up which they

had no voice in making. The most atrocious laws that ever disgraced a statute book were passed. A Legislature, almost without exception illegally elected, *extended the slave code of Missouri over the Territory, declared the death penalty for assisting a slave to escape, made it a felony for any one to declare that slavery was illegal in Kansas, and provided that in trials under this law no one should sit upon a jury who believed that slavery was illegal in the Territory.* This was followed by a complete organization of courts, with sheriffs having extraordinary powers and Territorial militia to enforce process. Outnumbered in actual settlers they could raise no *posse* in Kansas, and so we find, when the spirit of American freemen rose in resistance against this damnable outrage, the Missouri militia, organized, and armed from the State arsenals, were poured into Kansas, to murder and drive out the Free-State settlers. A state of war followed. Non-combatants left the Territory. Armed bands gathered along the borders, swelled by the outpouring of all the slums of vice in the great cities. Fillibusters came from Cuba and Mexico to aid in the assassination of liberty. Against these gathering hosts a Spartan band, less than two thousand men, held this Thermopylae of freedom for a continent. Brave hearts in the North were touched by the sublime spectacle, and the cry for help resounded throughout the land. The politicians were timid, for a pro-slavery Administration protected the invaders, and used the army to compel submission to the ruffian code. The merchants were afraid of the effect of action upon Southern trade, but the heart of the people responded nobly to the call. Bands of young men were organized and armed for the rescue of their brethren, and to secure a free ballot in Kansas. Among the earliest to volunteer was young Lagrange, then less than twenty. He joined one of the first parties sent out from Wisconsin. The Missouri river was closed to Northern emigrants. Every boat was searched, and all suspected persons were sent

back by vigilance committees in Missouri. Lagrange and his comrades walked every step from Mount Pleasant, Iowa—a distance of over five hundred miles! The party was captured on the line, as they entered Kansas, by Colonel Cooke, with six hundred United States dragoons. Expecting this they had buried their valuable arms the night before on the banks of the Kaw river. The private soldiers and many officers were bitter in their denunciations of the proceeding, but they acted under orders. Among the officers who thus protested, and expressed their sympathy for Free-State men, were Dunn, Doubleday, and Lyon, all of whom afterward won distinction in the war, and the last of whom will be remembered by Kansas and the nation forever. Our boys relished it as a huge joke, as Uncle Sam had to support them, pay their ferriage, and finally turn them over to Governor Geary, at Topeka, who had just arrived, and assumed his duties as Governor. Though a Democrat and a slaveholder he had a noble heart. He welcomed the brave young emigrants. Lagrange and his comrades were sent up for their buried arms, made claims upon the Government land, engaged in shingle making and such other labor as offered. Among his companions were several young men since noted, of whom we recall the gallant and gifted Colonel Richard Rolfe, now of the Pittsburg *Commercial*; Colonel R. J. Hinton, of the *California Post*; Phillips, and James Redpath, the ever-faithful friend of liberty for all men. Governor Geary soon saw through the flimsy pretexts of the pro-slavery leaders. He demanded of the Administration a fair vote for the people. For this the pro-slavery party denounced him as a traitor, and attempted his assassination. Lagrange, with a little band of brave youths, hastened to his side, and remained with him as a body-guard till he left the Territory, denouncing, as his predecessor Reeder had done, the treachery of the Democratic Administration to the North, and helping to swell the tide of popular wrath against the great iniquity.

The mighty Northern emigration in 1857, reinforcing the heroic and immortal band who had held the ground during three years

of deadly peril, gave Kansas and Nebraska to freedom, and settled the fate of the nation. The danger over, Lagrange sold his claim, returned to Wisconsin, and resumed his studies at the State University of Wisconsin, winning the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. The family requiring his attention, he taught school at intervals, practicing every economy and devoting his surplus to educating his brothers and sisters.

The question of the rendition of slaves being then prominent in Wisconsin he took a lively interest in its discussion, speaking often with great eloquence against the infamous fugitive slave act. In 1859 Sherman Booth, the editor of the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*, was seized by the Federal authorities, at the instance of the slave power, and imprisoned in the custom-house for assisting at the rescue of the slave Glover some three years before at Milwaukee. It was an act dictated only by a desire to persecute a prominent Republican, and to show that the fugitive slave law could be crammed down the throats of the people of Wisconsin. Hundreds of citizens of both parties, many of them more prominent, had been equally involved in the rescue. Booth was singled out, confined five months without so much as an airing for his health, and even denied such books and papers as he desired to read. It was an act of superlative meanness, cruelty, and cowardice, worthy of an administration which ended in delivering the forts and arsenals into the hands of traitors. All legal means to release Mr. Booth failed, as the Federal courts were but the willing tools of the slave power. On the 1st day of August, 1860, a little band of twelve determined men went into the custom-house at noon, and released Mr. Booth in the name of liberty and the people of Wisconsin. This was done not as bravado, but as a solemn protest against a wicked statute, and that the spirit of resistance to oppression might not die out from the hearts of men. Among the distinguished names in this affair as actors or counselors, who shared the danger and responsibility, we note that of General Lagrange; the late Colonel Sidney Bean, who fell at Port Hudson, the namesake and the peer of that fairest flower of English chivalry

whose white plume went down for liberty on the field of Zutphen; Colonel Hey, who fell at Chickamauga; Hon. John F. Potter, who recalls Roger A. Pryor naturally, and others. This gallant act was generally approved by the people as a fitting rebuke to the insolent and audacious demands of the slave power.

These experiences opened to Lagrange, as to other advanced minds, a clear view of the mighty contest that impended. Oppression never looses its hold till power compels, and liberty can be saved only by the strong arms of her sons. These were his profound convictions when he left Kansas. In 1860 we find him organizing and drilling a company of students. When the final summons came for the nation "to repossess its property and places" by force, and the little handful of 75,000 only were called, he writes to a friend in Washington: "If you love me secure me a chance to get in with my company; I must be in the fight." Leaving his books, and providing for the family as well as he could, he succeeded in getting into active service as a captain in the fourth Wisconsin infantry during the summer of 1861. This fine regiment, commanded by that splendid soldier, General Halbert E. Paine, was detailed for guarding railroads and similar duty during its early experiences, and little chance given for the display of soldierly qualities. The following year, however, opened the way for Lagrange to a more congenial field. Cavalry, at first condemned, had come to be appreciated, and a lieutenant colonel's commission in the first Wisconsin was secured for Lagrange by one who knew and loved him from his boyhood. This regiment was recruited entirely of skilled horsemen, largely among students, and contained the very flower of Western youth. General Halleck spoke of it as the finest body of horsemen he had ever seen, regular or volunteer. With such a command wonders might have been wrought but for the do-nothing spirit which brooded over the army during its first year. In spite of all obstacles, however, Lagrange soon developed his great capacity for cavalry service. The disability of his immediate superior devolved the full command upon him in 1863, and

from that time, as regimental or brigade commander, he was constantly in the saddle, except while prisoner. He shared every hardship and danger with his men. He participated with his brigade in nearly all the important movements preceding the fall of Atlanta, winning the highest admiration and esteem of both the regular and volunteer officers for his dashing courage and skill. On March 9, 1864, while leading a desperate charge, and having two horses shot under him in quick succession, the second of which held him fast to the ground, he was captured and taken to Macon, Georgia, where, refusing to give his parole, he was confined in jail till exchanged.

In the final movements of the war Lagrange commanded the second brigade of Wilson's cavalry division. Detached as an independent command from the main column he captured Selma and Montgomery, and advanced upon West Point. Finding this place occupied by a large force under General Tyler, strongly entrenched, he promptly dismounted his brigade, held the enemy's guns in check with sharpshooters and a light battery, and carried the fort by storm after a most desperate hand-to-hand fight, in which the rebel general was slain.

This battle was the last of the war and evinces his remarkable skill and readiness of resource. Major General Wilson speaks of this exploit in his address to the Army of the Tennessee as one of the most extraordinary in military history. He pronounces Lagrange one of the most able and promising officers he ever knew, who, in executing a movement, equaled the brilliant marshals on whom the first Napoleon leaned for the success of his mighty plans of battle. Major General Stanley wrote of the first Wisconsin cavalry and its commander, June 5, 1865: "A most gallant regiment, with a colonel (Lagrange) as dashing a trooper as the famed Murat."

Such was the reputation that General Lagrange earned in the war, and which demanded justly a higher recognition than a brevet brigadier general's commission, while dozens of political generals, conspicuous and disgraceful failures, wore their double stars on

broadcloth that was never dusted or stained in a march or a fight.

Returning home Lagrange pursued his legal studies at the Albany law school, was admitted to the bar, and settled in California to practice his profession.

When General Grant came into office he found the San Francisco Mint in a bad condition, and desired to place it under the control of a trusty and competent superintendent. It was a position requiring great administrative ability, unquestionable integrity, force, and pluck. The President knew his man and selected General Lagrange. The event after eight years has justified his choice.

No public trust in this or any other country has been more faithfully administered. Here investigation is courted. It may delve into all depths and sift all evidence, but it will find no fraud, no hidden corruption, no neglected duty. It would show what a debt the country owes to one who served it grandly and brilliantly in war, and not less nobly, because less brilliantly, in a most difficult and responsible position in the civil service. It would show that during the sixteen years previous to the installation of Lagrange the Mint suffered a loss of \$400,000 of deficits, and not one dollar since. It would show that nearly \$200,000,000 have been coined during the last

eight years upon which the legal wastage would have been \$800,000, while the actual wastage was \$47,000, or one-seventeenth of the legal amount. It would show that the cost of coinage has been steadily reduced until now it is one-fourth of what it was eight years ago. It will show clean-handed honesty, strict fidelity, sleepless vigilance, and wise administration, guarding the public interest at that important post. Let the country be just to its public servants, rewarding fidelity with frank and unstinted commendation as it brands fraud and corruption with instant and summary chastisement. Let it listen to no partisan detraction or the silly falsehoods of envy, jealousy, revenge, or the inventions of that innumerable and rapacious crew who hunger for the spoils now out of their reach. The safety of our institutions largely lies in the encouragement of civic virtues, and in maintaining the eternal distinctions between virtue and vice. In the clean-handed, clean-hearted, chivalrous man we have sketched, who has devoted his life to his country, and with large opportunity to be rich is poor, we have a public officer that the State cannot afford to lose. To whatever place he may be called his old comrades know that he will be found equal and always worthy, and their best wishes and hopes follow him always.

### THE SILVER QUESTION—THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

Secretary Sherman furnishes the following as his views on the silver question. It will be observed that the Secretary advocates the purchase of silver bullion at its commercial value, and the issue of silver coins freely to all who will accept such coin in exchange for legal tender. The Secretary says:

"The silver question gives me no uneasiness. There are two extremes of opinion upon it, equally threatening, and, as usual, each supported by honest conviction and plausible reasoning. Like most disputes, these opinions are now localized—one in the East and one in the West. When two black clouds, angry and threatening, approach each other, we see the lightning and hear the thunder, but soon a fierce storm, a refreshing rain or a gentle shower is followed by the sunshine. This dispute about silver will be followed by a refreshing supply of silver coin. It will

absorb a portion of our paper money, and will supplement and make easier resumption in both gold and silver coin, kept equal with each other. One extreme opinion would allow any holder of silver bullion, or an old silver plate or tea-pot, to carry it to the mint and have it coined into silver dollars and force everybody to take them in payment of all debts, public or private. Such a measure, if adopted now, when the market value of silver is 10 per cent. below gold, at the legal ratio of 16 to 1, would at once depreciate the purchasing power of a dollar 5 per cent. below greenbacks, and 10 per cent. below gold. It would utterly destroy our public credit, stop our funding operations by which we are now reducing the burden of our public debt 33 per cent., drive out from the country all gold no longer necessary for any purpose, and leave us with what our silver friends so much denounce, a single standard of silver bullion. The results of this doctrine will be so appar-

ent that the good sense of our people in all sections will, in due time, reject it. The other extreme opinion would entirely demonetize silver, which is absolutely essential for the daily wants of life; which is the coin more universally used by mankind than any other; which is handled by millions, while gold is handled by thousands, and in which the rich and the poor are alike interested. The free use of both metals, the one convertible into the other, and both of equal current value. The genuine bimetallic standard of value is assumed by the gold monometallists to be impossible in the face of the fact that gold cannot be divided so as to meet one of the hundred daily wants of life. Now both these extreme opinions are just as certain to be abandoned after full discussion as time passes. It is an old dispute that has periodically risen for more than 2,000 years, and has always been adjusted by the Government issuing both metals as coin, and maintaining their equal value at a fixed rate by limiting the amount it issues. The metal more valuable in the market than its legal ratio can be issued without limit; the metal less valuable in the market than its legal ratio must be limited in its issue, leaving the absolute need of it to fix the amount. In our country, where we are struggling to make our paper money equal to coin, we are happily in a condition to do this easily and with profit to the Government. The way is to issue silver coin whenever demanded, the old silver dollar as well as the smaller coins, in exchange for paper money, either for fractional currency or United States notes, and retire them. The silver coins already have superseded the body of the fractional currency, and they are a legal tender to the same extent as fractional currency. Let the Government buy the silver bullion at what it is worth, and coin silver dollars, and issue them freely to everybody who will surrender a paper dollar. This is a fair and voluntary exchange that robs nobody. The silver dollar ought to be received by the Government and made a legal tender, precisely as the paper dollar now is. In this way, perhaps 50,000,000 of silver dollars will supersede 50,000,000 of paper dollars. Some say more, some say less; but let that be determined by the popular demand. This process, every step of it, will bring both paper and silver nearer and nearer to the standpoint of gold, and with the measures now authorized by law will soon bring all our money to the same value. We will then have paper money supported by the public credit, with gold and silver coin in abundance, so that every man who has either his labor or productions to sell can have either kind of money, and all of the same value. If he wants current money in considerable sums, he will take paper for convenience of carriage. If he wants silver

for daily supplies or change, he will take silver. If he wants to buy in foreign markets, he will take gold or exchange. Practically, silver and paper will be the current money, and gold the ultimate standard. No doubt it would be better if the relation of gold and silver could, by international agreement, be established, but this is not now practicable, and though the United States is a great country, it is not great enough to control the world. We may use silver alone, as China does, and plenty of countries are ready to take all the gold we have; but when we come to buy or sell in the markets of the world, as we are now doing, and hope to do more largely, we will have to buy and sell at the gold standard. We cannot afford to do this and compete with them, nor can we afford to deny ourselves the great convenience of an ample silver currency kept equal to gold by confining its issue by the Government to the actual demand for it. We are now so near a uniform standard of all kinds of our money that I have too much confidence in the shrewdness of our people to believe they will take a step backward."

#### MR. FRENCH'S VIEWS.

Mr. French, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has rendered an opinion to the effect that all the bonds issued by the United States since 1870 must be paid in gold, and that to attempt to discharge such obligations in silver would be fraud upon the creditors of the Government. The opinion of Mr. French is not an official one.

#### PRESS COMMENTS.

The Hartford (Conn.) *Courant* thinks that Mr. Sherman apprehends the true principles of currency, but is too anxious to offer inflationists a middle ground of compromise. In discussing the Secretary's views it says:

"The Secretary of the Treasury says some good and true things in his statement of the silver question. He justly presents and justly condemns the extreme cheap dollar inflationist, but in sketching the other extreme he is not so fortunate, for under the necessity of making a strong contrast he describes what does not exist. There is no existing human being outside of a lunatic asylum who would 'entirely demonetize silver.' Our Government is rapidly coining silver, stamping and issuing in place of fractional currency subsidiary silver coin whose stamped value is greater than its commercial value as silver. All coins below the dollar are of this description, and being thus overvalued and worth more here than abroad, where they would be tested and recoined, they will stay with us and discharge their proper function as small change. Nor, probably, are there any advocates of a

single standard who would object to a readjustment of the silver dollar in accordance with the great changes in the value of silver, and the coining of a new dollar containing more than 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  grains—enough more to make it equivalent to a gold dollar; controlling the issue within reasonable limits, and making them legal tender for a moderate sum. But this is precisely what the silver maniacs do not want. They despise gold now as they did both silver and gold three years ago, but silver having depreciated, it has become just so much nearer the value of the beloved paper rag which many of them wished to issue, stamped 'This is One Dollar,' irredeemably based on the 'faith of the nation.' Mr. Sherman's points against the advocates of the single standard, that it is impossible, in the face of the fact that gold cannot be so subdivided as to meet the small daily wants of life, is not a point, for everybody desires silver for change."

#### THE SILVER QUESTION IN POLITICS.

The Baltimore *Sun* regrets that there is so much agitation of the currency question in the contest in Ohio, and says :

"There is no earthly reason why the choice of the people of Ohio of a Governor or State Legislature should ever so remotely depend on the remonetization or demonetization of silver. Moreover past experience of the effect of making the currency question an issue in State elections in Ohio has not been of a kind to encourage a repetition of the experiment. The greenback craze of two years ago grew out of the rivalry of sundry Ohio politicians and aspirants for the Presidency. Both of the great political parties were more or less demoralized and divided by the false issue thus precipitated upon them. The question is one for Congress, and not for State Legislatures and Governors, as Governor Cullom justly observes in his recent veto message to the Illinois Legislature, returning without his signature the bill passed by that body making silver an unlimited legal tender in that State. One of the objections urged by the Governor was that the measure, so far as it had a retroactive or retrospective operation, and affected contracts entered into prior to its passage, was in conflict with that provision of the Federal Constitution which forbids the passage by any State of any law impairing the obligation of contracts. Another objection was that the bill interfered with the exclusive power of Congress to coin money and regulate the value thereof. These were the constitutional objections to the bill, aside from the general one which has been urged by writers on political economy, and of which some of the nations of Europe, as well as ourselves,

have had actual experience, viz., that where two kinds of currency are of unequal value, if the inferior sort be made a legal tender for debts it will inevitably drive the other and better currency out of circulation. Just as making paper a legal tender drove coin out of circulation, so making silver a legal tender will have the same effect in banishing and excluding gold from circulation. Everybody who has money to pay will naturally use the cheaper and inferior medium. This is the great and conclusive argument in favor of the single and against the double standard of values. But in Ohio they do not discuss the subject of the currency upon scientific or politico-economical grounds. There the question is unfortunately used as a bait to catch votes withal, and the discreditable spectacle is now presented of the two political parties trying not only to outbid each other, but to anticipate each other in the struggle to get before the people first with a tempting plank upon the currency judiciously adapted to the popular prejudices, and intended to curry favor with the unreflecting and ignorant, as well as the selfish and speculating classes. It is mortifying to hear of a man insisting upon the necessity of the party to which he belongs taking a stand for the 'dollar of our daddies' and the 'money of our mammies' the ineffably silly Ohio plea for the remonetization of silver. Why not, as some one has suggested, with equal sense write a popular rally in behalf of the big copper cent of our grandfathers? An ignorant sentiment is appealed to with vulgar clap-trap in lieu of argument, when if the question were properly admitted at all into a merely State canvass the argument should be addressed to facts, to experience and to the intelligence of the people."

**GRANT IN ENGLAND.**—We are inclined to believe that the United States Associated Press agents in London are exaggerating the details of the reception of ex-President Grant in England; but if not, and all that is wired is a correct representation of what is taking place, we should not have such reasons for astonishment if a report reached us that a proposition had been made that Her Majesty should abdicate the throne in favor of Ulysses; and by-and-by, when Hayes' term is up, Grant might be called back to the Presidenceny of the great Republic, and thus the two nations brought under one Government, as England and Scotland were a hundred or two years ago. Verily, there is something new under the sun.—*Halifax (N. S.) Record.*

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUBMARINE WARFARE.

## TORPEDOES.

The development of submarine warfare has been so rapid of late that it is hardly possible to foretell what potent influence it may have on the war now being waged in Eastern Europe. While England, France, Italy, and in fact nearly all the European naval powers, have been building huge engines of war, of a tonnage, armor, and artillery never heard of before, the torpedo has been gradually perfected, and threatens, at least under many circumstances, to neutralize them. A torpedo may be regarded as a gun which dispenses with a gun carriage, and which, without the vast and expensive agency of a great ship, inflicts as formidable a blow as that of the heaviest artillery.

The original inventor was David Bushnell, born at Westbrook, Connecticut, 1742. He not only devised a torpedo, but also a submarine rowing boat, intended to convey it to the bottom of the vessel to be attacked. His practical experiments, however, which he was enabled to carry out with the assistance of the private purse of George Washington, did not prove successful; and the invention sank into oblivion until the commencement of the present century, when Robert Fulton, an American sojourning in France, offered a similar one to the French Government. After considerable parleying, it was rejected, and Fulton sold his secret to the British Admiralty for \$75,000. The so-called Catamaran Expedition, and attempt to destroy the French line-of-battle ships and transports off Boulogne, turning out a failure, Fulton returned to the United States, and, during the war of 1812, tried in vain to blow up several of the English blockaders.

In 1829, Colonel Samuel Colt commenced experiments with a submarine torpedo exploded by a galvano-electric battery; and, after many disappointments he succeeded, on October 18, 1842, in destroying the brig Volta in New York harbor, in the presence of 40,000 excited spectators. So far only vessels at anchor had been attacked; but, on April 13, 1843, Colt blew up a brig of 500 tons un-

der sail on the Potomac river, he himself being the operator, and at the time at Alexandria, five miles distant from the explosion.

The first European Government to adopt the invention was Austria, who laid down a perfect electric torpedo net for the defence of Venice. Russia followed suit, and during the Crimean war protected the entrance of Condrast as well as that of Sebastopol harbor by an improved system of ground torpedoes, which kept the English fleet at a respectful distance. The American civil war for the first time clearly demonstrated the tremendous effect of the invention, and at the same time changed its character from a purely defensive to an offensive weapon. Galled by the soon-established superiority of the United States navy, which gradually sealed up all the important Southern ports, the Confederate Government organized a special torpedo service corps; and after sinking torpedoes in every available approach, they proceeded to build small steamers constructed to carry spar torpedoes. These torpedo boats, with an easily comprehensible Biblical illusion, were called "Davids," and were in several instances used with as much pluck and perseverance as terrible effect. The United States soon imitated the David, and in 1864 the late Commander Cushing, U. S. N., succeeded in destroying the Confederate ram Albemarle, lying at anchor in the James river. Since then the electric apparatus for torpedoes, and the torpedo itself, have been vastly improved; and numerous new inventions have been introduced, all of which, however, may be classed under the following five heads: Ground torpedoes, spar torpedoes, Harvey (towing) torpedoes, Whitehead (fish) torpedoes, and the Lay torpedo.

## GROUND TORPEDOES.

The ground torpedo is a sort of sunken mine exploding either by contact or by electricity. If these are judiciously laid down around a harbor or anchorage, the approach of hostile ships may be rendered impracticable, provided always they are protected by

shore batteries or armed ships to prevent removal. Every channel may be barred by these hidden mines; and they may be made so powerful that any ship under which they explode is sure to become hopelessly disabled. They are fastened to and held in their positions either by anchors or by stockades. The bursting charge consists of gunpowder, gun cotton, or dynamite; and the case or shell is either made of iron or wood; in Charleston harbor, old steam boilers were frequently used.

#### SPAR TORPEDOES.

The spar torpedo is fastened to the end of a spar from 15 to 38 feet long, carried in a boat, no matter how small, and explodes also either by electricity or contact. A most remarkable experiment was recently made at Cherbourg, France, with spar torpedoes, carried by a little vessel called the Thorneycroft, which was almost submarine. A very small part of it was above water, but it was of sufficient strength to carry engines and two lateen sails, and it was worked by a lieutenant, two engineers, and a pilot. The French Admiral had two disabled ships in succession towed out to sea at a speed of 14 knots an hour. The Thorneycroft, however, was able to go at the rate of 19 knots an hour, a rate not attained by any vessel in the squadron. She very soon caught up with her prey, delivered her blow with a spar torpedo, which projected from her bow and rebounded. A rent as big as a house was made in the side of the ship attacked, and she sank at once. The Thorneycroft only spun round and round a few moments, and then returned uninjured to the squadron, from which she started. A vessel of this kind is scarcely discernible in the water; even if she were detected, she is so small that it would be difficult to hit her; and half a dozen Thorneycrofts attacking a large vessel would be a most dangerous foe. Their expense is quite trifling compared with that of great ships of war; they can be multiplied indefinitely, and they can be carried on board other ships and be launched from them as occasion may require. The Italian Government has already carried out this idea in the construction of her formidable new ironclads Dandolo and Duilio. The vessels are fitted in their sterns with a sort of armored

dry dock, harboring a small torpedo steamer. As soon as the services of the latter are required, the dry dock is filled with water and opened and the little craft rushes out at the enemy, returning to her safe berth after her mission has been fulfilled. Admiral Porter's torpedo vessel Alarm, is fitted with spar torpedoes, both for bow and beam; but the torpedo generally supplied to all cruisers of the United States is the

#### HARVEY (TOWING) TORPEDO.

Invented by an English officer in 1862, it was soon adopted by nearly all the other navies, and probably will be exclusively used in general actions at sea as least liable to injure a friendly vessel in the mélée. The Harvey torpedo is towed upon the surface of the water by a wire rope towline from a derrick end of the yard arm over or against the enemy; and just before reaching the ship to be destroyed this towline is slackened, and the torpedo, being heavier than water, dives under it. When in this position the explosion is effected by means of a mechanical firing bolt striking down upon a pin as soon as certain levers of the torpedo come into contact with the bottom of the target. This torpedo can also be made to explode by electricity. Two different forms are used for starboard and port.

#### WHITEHEAD (FISH) TORPEDOES.

This invention is the secret and property of the British Admiralty, but the following details have leaked out: These torpedoes resemble in shape a cigar, pointed at both ends, and are 18 feet long by two feet in diameter. The inside is divided in three different compartments: First, the head, which contains a charge of 350 lbs. of gun cotton and the pistol or detonator to explode it; secondly, the balance chamber, which contains a contrivance for setting it so as to remain at any depth at which it is wished to travel under the water line; and lastly the air chamber, which contains the engines and the compressed air to drive them. The after end supports the screws—a right and left handed—which propels the torpedo and are made of the finest steel. The air chamber is tested to the pressure of 1,200 lbs. on the square inch, although for service it is only loaded to 800 lbs. The Whitehead torpedo can be made to

go at the rate of 20 knots for 1,000 yards, and at any depth that is desired, from 1 foot to 30 feet. It can be set to explode either on striking an object or at any particular distance under 1,000 yards—in artillery language, either by a percussion or a time fuse. It can also be set so that, if it misses the object aimed at, it will go to the bottom and explode at half cock or come to the top on half cock so as to be recovered, as it has buoyancy enough just to float on the surface of the water when not in motion. It is fired from what is called an impulse tube, which, out of a frame fitted to a port discharges the torpedo into the water. It can be fired above the water, but will at once go to the depth it is set for, and then go straight to the object, no matter how fast the ship from which it is discharged is going, or how fast the object aimed at may be sailing or steaming. In fact, it seems that it can do anything but speak. It is calculated to make a hole on bursting of 70 feet area, and there is no doubt that, if one of them hits a ship of any sort or description at present on the water, she must at once proceed to the bottom. It is evident that by this means a comparatively feeble ship, if only able to approach within 1,000 yards of a large one, can discharge a deadly flight of unseen projectiles at her, and at night such an attack will probably be wholly unsuspected and scarcely open to resistance, as the vessel fired against will be positively unaware of the attack until she is blown up. The newly invented electric light from the tops is a great help to the party attacked; but if three or four boats of great speed attack a vessel from different points of the compass, and if they are commanded by smart officers, nothing that she can do will save her from being hit by one or more of them. There is no doubt whatever that the torpedo is the most formidable weapon of modern naval warfare.

#### THE LAY TORPEDO.

Properly speaking, the invention of Mr. Lay, purchased by the United States Government, is not a torpedo, but a very ingeniously devised submarine torpedo boat fitted with a spar torpedo. This boat has the advantage of not requiring any crew on board, but in other particulars is capable of great improve-

ments. The motive power consists of an engine driven by carbonic acid gas and a screw propeller. The boat is entirely submerged, and is steered and in other respects controlled by means of an electric battery on shore connected with her by a cable which is coiled up in her hold and pays out as she moves away. Her location is indicated above the surface of the water by a flag, so as to enable the operator to direct her course. The greatest defect of the Lay torpedo is want of speed. The United States Government stipulated for a speed of 9 statute miles per hour, but the maximum speed actually attained at the late trial trip, when it was steered by Lieutenant R. B. Bradford U. S. N., showed only an average of 6.60 miles per hour so that a ship attacked would only have to lower her boats and let them row between the approaching torpedo and the shore, and cut the cable, which would leave the torpedo at their mercy. The defence of ships against torpedo attacks of all kinds is at present very imperfectly developed, principally owing to the fact that the offensive qualities of any weapon must first be learned before effectual means of defence can be devised; and as actual warfare can only give a correct idea of the former, we are, no doubt, on the eve of very startling events, which may entirely revolutionize and change every recognized principle of naval tactics.

---

A NEW STYLE OF RAILROAD IRON.—Considerable interest is being felt at Boston in a new style of rail which is to be laid down on the Boston, Winthrop and Point Shirley railroad. The Boston *Advertiser* says that "after a full investigation, and by advice of the best railroad engineers, it decided to use twenty pounds per yard angle rails, bolted to substantial wooden stringers, which are placed upon ordinary ties, and by which dangers proceeding from broken rails are avoided, and a large saving made in cost of construction. It is believed that the construction of this road will work a new era in the history of railroads, and that a complete revolution in their construction will take place, as the angle rail is adapted to standard as well as narrow gauge roads."

## THE FISHERIES COMMISSION.

The assembling of the Fisheries Commission at Halifax is the beginning of a settlement which has been delayed much too long. All other provisions of the Washington Treaty have been carried out—all other disputes between this country and Great Britain are finally and honorably closed. The fisheries question alone remains to be disposed of. Had it retained its original aspects, or rather the aspects with which men in middle life are familiar, the task before the commission would have been complicated and irritating. The British pretensions were on some points intolerable; the American version of right conflicted with them too roughly to be acquiesced in quietly. More than once matters reached a crisis which a rash act on either side would have converted into war. The British Government was less exacting than the representatives of provincial authority or the signs of serious trouble which came and disappeared would have culminated in hostilities. It was as a means of escape for these constantly impending sources of danger, quite as much as a source of profit, that the statesmen of both countries hailed with pleasure the reciprocity treaty. When that arrangement was abrogated, the Canadians indirectly reasserted their old claim as to the capacious limits within which their people should have an exclusive right to fish—their pretension this time manifesting itself in licenses to do that which, according to our view of the case, Americans were to a large extent entitled to do without giving consideration of any kind. The expedient was not successful. It may have staved off some troubles, but it left the principal cause of quarrel untouched.

The Joint Commission undertook the adjustment of all difficulties between the two countries, and the fisheries question was among them. The Canadians complain, not without reason, that their rights were sacrificed and their interests ignored for the furtherance of imperial interests. The Alabama claims, and the Northwestern boundary—which, with the fisheries question, constituted the matters referred under the treaty to tribunals of arbitration—were as regards Great Britain wholly imperial in their bearings. Not so the fisheries. The imperial authority has little to do with them.

Canada's right to jurisdiction over the Canadian fishing grounds rests upon a title with which, as far as equity is concerned, Britain cannot meddle. For its own purposes, however, it did meddle, as the Treaty of Washington bears witness; and the Canadian Commissioner quietly acquiesced. There was a good deal of grumbling among the Canadians when they found that privileges they cherished proudly had been bartered away for benefits which inured to the parent country, not to themselves. They were too loyal, however, to do more than grumble. Gradually they consoled themselves with the reflection that the money to be paid them by the United States Government as an equivalent for the difference in value between privileges conceded and privileges acquired, would be a substantial compensation for the slight put upon them. They persuaded themselves that they were to be the recipients of many millions. By depreciating the worth of the American market to their fishermen, and by exaggerating the worth of their fisheries to Americans, they arrived at totals ranging from ten to twenty-five millions as the aggregate of bonuses to be paid by the United States during the period over which the arrangement extends. The delay in the organization of the commission led to complaints of unfair dealing, and increased the irritation occasioned by various decisions of the departments at Washington affecting the importation of Canadian fish.

It can hardly be possible for the commission to determine precisely the cash value of the difference which the Canadians hope to obtain. The temper in which their side of the controversy has been carried on—not always by irresponsible parties—has tended to create the impression that they appraise only what they give and take but slight cognizance of what they get. They have not attempted to show that the opening of their coast fisheries to Americans has deprived their fishermen of a single barrel; nor have they made any reasonable allowance for the enhancement of the value of their trade consequent upon the admission to our markets, free of duty, of the products of their fisheries. On our side, again, there has been a systematic attempt to reverse these positions, and so to cut down the estimate of damages upon which Canadian expectations rest. The difference between the calculations is so wide that, left to themselves, the two Governments would not be likely to come to an agreement. The Halifax Commission, with the Belgian Minister as umpire, is relied upon to end the

controversy. It may be assumed that all the points will receive careful consideration, and that the representatives of the two Governments will fortify their respective cases with the specific facts which, more than any abstract argument, should determine the judgment of the umpire. We shall be agreeably surprised if it be not found that the Canadian case is, as regards thoroughness, more perfect than ours. The Canadians have looked upon the subject as of vital importance, while we have been disposed to treat it trivially, as something which need not give us serious concern. This disposition has been strengthened by the success which crowned the claims of the United States at Geneva, and again in the adjustment of the Northwestern boundary.

Here and there we notice a suggestion that the question shall be used as a leverage for the construction of a general scheme of reciprocity between this country and the Dominion. It should not be necessary to say that the Halifax Commission will apply itself only to the fisheries, and can neither initiate nor promote any bargaining of the nature proposed. From the American point of view, moreover, it would be impolitic to complicate a settlement which may be substantially, in our favor by making it part of the price of a totally distinct arrangement in regard to which the United States may dictate terms. The removal of the fisheries from the category of international disputes is a boon which we may hope to realize before many months pass over. A mutually advantageous reciprocity treaty can scarcely be attainable until the tariff reformers have made more headway, and liberal commercial legislation receives from Congress the attention it deserves.—*New York Times.*

**LIFE IN TEXAS.**—Major T. F. Powell, United States marshal, writing from his office in Austin, Texas, to a gentleman in this city, under a recent date, says: "This is the reign of highwaymen in Texas. Stage and passenger robberies are of daily occurrence. Never has there been anything like it in the history of the United States. One man alone robbed the stage from Waco to Gatesville, full of passengers; then robbed the stage below Belton; then from McDade to Bastrop; then from Austin to Lockhart; then, the same day, from San Antonio to Austin; and two days after the last-named robbery was captured in Luling with the money on his person, and the registered letters which he had not divested himself of. We have organized a grand jury for his especial benefit, and he will be tried and convicted at once. Yesterday the stage from

Cleburn, in Johnson county, to Fort Worth, was robbed by two men, they getting but a small amount of money. Yet six passengers will deliver up, without offering the least resistance, and the worst of it is that these bold highwaymen are very much admired here. The sympathies of the people are, to a very great extent, with them. No sheriff ever makes an effort to arrest them. You cannot arouse the citizens to pursue them. Were such things to occur in the North the whole country would be aroused, but not so here; everybody seems to say he is a brave fellow, and made a good haul, and nothing further is heard of it. Governor Hubbard has offered a reward for the last robbery, and does seem anxious to, and will, I am satisfied, do more than his predecessor did. We have a small police force organized, but they are so scattered that before they can be drawn out in pursuit of one of these mail robbers the parties turn up in another part of the State or Indian Territory. The last robbery was in the northern portion of the State, and before a force could be drawn to the place of the crime the robber was safe in the Indian Territory, to come down again when the excitement died away. You know the extent of our territory, the sparseness of its population, and the character of the people. A horse thief stands no chance here, and these men would scorn to steal a horse, but they will murder and rob, and in so doing are called noble fellows. You know all of this, and to tell you of it is like carrying coals to Newcastle, for you have had some experience with our roughs."

**THE DEPRESSION OF THE SHIPPING INTERESTS.**—The cause of the remarkable depression which rests upon the shipping interests, not alone of the United States, but of all nations, is to be found in the fact that the tonnage supply is in excess of the demand. Shipbuilding during the last ten years has been overdone. It is stated that the English steamers unemployed, if stretched in a line, would measure five miles in length, and most of those employed are losing money. Like the English, we have more shipping than can find employment; and the amount is likely to be increased. What advantage would it be then to have the present restriction in relation to the purchasing of foreign vessels removed? Some theorists say that we could purchase first class English steamers very cheap; no doubt we could, but of what use should they be? Shipping, like real estate, is a drug in the market, and will be until those interested in the business cease building for two or three years at least. Let the shipping now afloat have a chance to earn their running expenses before more are built.—*New York Shipping List.*

## THE WANT OF POPULATION IN THE SOUTH.

It is said that the great want of Virginia now is people, and the Richmond papers are now willing to admit that African slavery was alone the cause of preventing the accumulation of population.

Truth is mighty and must prevail; but it is wonderful, indeed, that the South did not make the discovery that slavery not only hindered the growth of population, but hindered growth in many other ways equally important. This sudden waking up of the press to the lack of people in the Southern States, and especially its acknowledgment of the cause, would be a good sign if the spirit of the master-class had been laid also when slavery as an institution ceased to exist. Slavery caused the rebellion; the spirit of slavery keeps alive the hostility between sections; and there can never be peace until all race distinctions disappear, and the manhood and citizenship of the black man be recognized on every foot of Southern soil.

The lack of progress in the South under the old *regime* of slavery, with the deadened instincts of the slave-owners, seems to be a favorite condition in the minds of the Democratic leaders, who are doing their best to restrain advancement and to hurl back, if possible, the present to the past. In the past, with the black man as a chattel, the white master exercised a control so complete that throughout the borders of the South the very breath of liberty was stifled. To-day the negro is a citizen of the United States, with as much right to exercise the franchise as the whitest and most disloyal claimant to control him, because he once owned him, who carries a pardon in his pocket. The Southern question is not settled, and never can be settled until the negro citizen is taken out of politics by the Southern Democracy granting him equal rights under the law with themselves. Because the Southern Democracy has deprived the negro citizen of his rights as a man, the struggle continues, and the struggle must continue as long as there is any ground of complaint, for the love of liberty and the hatred of injustice are too strong in the human breast to allow free men to patiently endure, not only gross personal outrage, but the habitual defeat of the honest aspirations of citizens

whose interest in the welfare of the South, although they have dark skins, is as great as that of the rebel Democrat with a skin of alabaster, who boasts of his small hands and feet, but has given little culture to his brain, and devotes his time to oppressing his fellowman. Southern Democracy is the *debris* of the rebellion, and cannot be otherwise than the incarnation of injustice. The black citizen must look to the Republican party to secure his political rights. His sufferings from Democrats serve but to increase his faith in Republican courage and wisdom. The existence of the Republic depends upon the continued supremacy of the Republican party. Events are inspiring Republicans with a determination that the powers of social and political evil shall not triumph in America. There is no discord in the Republican party to betray it into weakness. There must be none. When the time comes the Republican party, warned by the crimes and hardihood of the Southern Democratic leaders against the prosperity and progress of the country, will be prepared to act, and the action of a united party on behalf of liberty and justice, moved by a sublime patriotism, will reach to the depths of Democratic iniquity and overturn the plans devised for the perpetuation of its unjust reign in the South.

THE FOUR PER CENTS.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* thinks the success of the new four per cent. loan will have a beneficial effect upon the industries of this country because it will cheapen money in the home markets, and adds: "Heretofore the interest on the 5-20s has been regarded as equal to 8 per cent. Private loans could not be made, therefore, in the regular course, at a lower figure. Even the city of Cincinnati, which is deserving of No. 1 credit, has paid 7 per cent. and upward. This is an enormous rate of interest on first class bonds. Mortgage paper has been sold at 9@10 per cent. Now, however, since the Government has called in a considerable portion of its 6 per cent. bonds capitalists are forced into the market to seek other investments, and presently those who have been living upon high rates of interest, content to let business alone, will enter the field of industry. Already the most difficult task a capitalist could undertake would be to find a safe investment that would yield 5 per cent. Thus the Government which put up the rate of interest indirectly is now putting it down, and it is able to do this because it has observed not only the letter but the spirit of its obligations."

## "RUNNING INTO DEBT."

There is a fine, unintentional felicity in many of the phrases that have to do with money. Our modern slang call it "brass." But that was its real serious name among the Romans, because the earliest coin was brass. Undue confidence is also called "brass," and undoubtedly the possession of a good deal of money sometimes moderates excessive timidity, and inspires modest assurance. "Brass" means money; it means also impudence, but the connection is not necessary. It is only such as the young student of mathematics wished to establish as a ground for kissing his cousin's cousin, that "Things equal to the same thing are equal to one another." Who ever heard of a man *Walking* into debt? Language has an unconscious truthfulness, of which this is a fine illustration. No one is in doubt about the kind of debt into which men "run." It is not a "debt of gratitude," or the "debt of nature." Into these men walk, and often with reluctant slowness; they run into debts of other kind, known in our more elegant English as "pecuniary obligations." A mere trifle is borrowed; it amounts to nothing, can be paid any time, but somehow it is not; is perhaps forgotten, except by the lender. After hints, duns, threats perhaps, it has to be paid, and a fresh loan is contracted for the purpose. When you are borrowing, a trifle more or less is nothing, so a little more is borrowed than you immediately want for the impatient creditor, merely to get a few things you happen to want and may as well have as not, and the process is repeated, until it becomes familiar. Then comes variations and additions. You have two or three creditors—the number grows easily, and the accounts become mixed in your mind. In the earlier stages of the disease, you feel a little anxiety; but, like mortification in certain maladies, in the more advance stages the pain ceases; you give up any idea of paying, and only consider how to get out of it. The plans are various, including a fire that burns up everything, a robbery that "cleans you out," emigration without any public notice, an *alias* (very effective if you are reported dead and buried,) or in proper legal and commercial fashion by compounding according to the "statutes in that case made and provided." There are objections, however, to the last-named plan. To pay even eleven and a half cents on the dollar takes money; no prudent man spends where it can be helped; and though eleven and a half cents is a mere bagatelle, when it is spread over large obligations it amounts to something.

The power to go into debt is a gift, but like all such it can be improved by cultivation. It implies a hopeful, sanguine temperament, a fluent tongue, an easy manner, little con-

science, and much self-love, for your true, accomplished borrower feels, and sometimes makes the lender feel, that it is a compliment to be asked by him for a "pecuniary favor." Asking the return of the money in such a case reverses the position of the parties in an instant, and the creditor becomes the suitor. "I am sorry to trouble you—do not mean any offence, &c., but if you could oblige me by paying that little," &c. He is not paid, but he gets a large helping from the rich vocabulary of the borrower, is graciously treated, and goes away grateful in heart that the ordeal is over, and that nothing worse happened. A philosopher sometimes gets the only equivalent for his money in such cases by the "study afforded him" of consummate and gifted impudence. The pleas on which money can be borrowed are various and worth examination. Absolute want is a crude story and only used by the tyro in the art. A "temporary convenience," the perfecting and patenting of a discovery, the delay of a remittance, the loss of a cheque-book, the unexpected absence of a friend, the early closing of a bank, the mistake of a correspondent who filled his cheque erroneously, the loss of a purse; these are specimens. And the grounds for a gentleman calling on you, are equally worth study—his mother was of your name, or country, or religion—he knew your great uncle—dined at the house of your grandmother—"dear old lady"—is the friend of your friend—"excellent man," "splendid fellow"—heard you preach, read your speech, subscribed for your paper, admired your principles, or has a point in politics or theology that he thought no one but you could clear up. Dr. Chalmers was much ruffled by a man coming to him to inquire who was David's mother, and ending by a request for the loan of a shilling! But there is something to be said on the other side, and we should like to put it in the strongest Saxon known to us. There must be credit in legitimate commerce, and it may sometimes happen that a trusted friend may be properly used as a friend in money. But even this endangers the fine aroma of true friendship. "I owe him almost everything but money," one should be able to say of his friend. Hence, it is not good to have borrowing and lending among relations. If it must be, let it be on purely business principles, and with strangers. A man needs his money, and yet cannot well sell out his brother-in-law; and if his brother-in-law is weak in principle, he counts on that and feels easy about paying. On the same principle, a minister, if he ever does lend money, should never lend to his parishioners. It commonly ruins his influence on the bor-

rower. Does he want it back? He is unfeeling. Does he call as a minister? The interview is embarrassing to all. He may have come for his money; and they are glad when he is gone. Does he let it go? He demoralizes, in so far, the recipient. But the habit of running into debt ought not to be contracted. The young man who begins this rarely comes to much. Borrowed money never goes far, but it goes fast. "Come easy, go easy." Interest grows when the debtor is asleep. The shortest thirty days in a man's life are the days between the drawing and maturing of his note for borrowed money. A honeymoon is long compared with them. "The borrower is servant to the lender." Loss of self-respect and peace of mind is

worse than ten per cent. interest. There was a fabled touch-stone for gold; but gold is the real touch-stone for men. He who stands the money-test may be trusted almost anywhere. Do not wantonly put yourself in danger. Deny yourself; dress plainly; live cheaply; work incessantly; do anything that is honest rather than go in debt. The first borrowing is like the first glass, or the first opiate. Like fame "it increases by going"—and the end is on this side of your life as surely as on the drunkard's, or the opium-eater's on another, loss of character, of reputation, of peace, of principle, of body, and, we fear, in many cases of soul, for the prospect for "all liars" is bad in the extreme.—*John Hall.*

## AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES—FARMERS' SONS.

Colonel George E. Waring, of Newport—a practical farmer, by the way—has a paper in *Scribner* for April, advocating a better way of country living, namely, the grouping of farmhouses into villages, as is often done in Europe. He speaks as follows of the loneliness of American farm life:

It may seem a strange doctrine to be advanced by a somewhat enthusiastic farmer, but it is a doctrine that has been slowly accepted after many years' observation—a conviction that has taken possession of an unwilling mind—that the young man who takes his young wife to an isolated farmhouse dooms her and himself and their children to an unwholesome, unsatisfactory and vacant existence—an existence marked by the absence of those more satisfying and more cultivating influences which the best development of character and intelligence demand. It is a common experience of farmers' wives to pass week after week without exchanging a word or a look with a single person outside of their own family circles.

The young couple start bravely, and with a determination to struggle against the habit of isolation which marks their class; but this habit has grown from the necessity of the situation; and the necessities of their own situation bring them sooner or later within its bonds. During the first few years they adhere to their resolution and go regularly to church, to the lecture, and to the social gatherings of their friends; but home duties increase with time and the eagerness for society grows dull with neglect, and those who have started out with the firmest determination to avoid the rock on which their fathers have split, give up the struggle at last and settle down to a hum-drum, uninteresting and uninterested performance of daily tasks.

In saying all this—and I speak from experience, for I have led the dismal life myself—it is hardly necessary to disclaim the least want of appreciation of the sterling qualities which have been developed in the American farm household. But it may safely be insisted that these qualities have been developed, not because of the American mode of farm life, but in spite of it; and, as I think over the long list of admirable men and women whose acquaintance I have formed on distant and solitary farms, I am more and more impressed with certain short-comings which would have been avoided under better social conditions. If any of these is disposed to question the justice of this conclusion, I am satisfied to leave the final decision with his own judgment, formed after a fair consideration of what is herein suggested.

If American agriculture has an unsatisfied need, it is surely the need for more intelligent and more enterprising interest on the part of its workingmen and women. From one end of the land to the other, its crying defect—recognized by all—is that its best blood—or, in other words, its best brains and its best energy—is leaving it to seek other fields of labor. The influence which leads these best of farmers' sons to other occupations is not so much the desire to make more money, or to find a less laborious occupation, as it is the desire to lead a more satisfactory life—a life where that part of us which has been developed by the better education and better civilization for which, in this century, we have worked so hard and so well, may find responsive companionship and encouraging intercourse with others.

### IN BEHALF OF BOYS.

If commerce and manufacturers make loud calls for your boys, make louder calls yourself.

Give the boys a chance at home, encourage them, stimulate them; give them a piece of ground to cultivate as their own, give them cattle to rear; surround them with such books and papers as your means afford; permit them to make inexpensive experiments; treat them as equals, as young men of brains, of perceptive faculties; give them a little authority, a little power; talk matters over with them, consult with them, try their capacity, put confidence in them.

Encourage the village lyceum, the farmers' club; take the boys along; let them try a little new seed, a little poultry; let them raise a few early lambs; introduce any culture, the success of which depends on their personal attention to detail; make the boys interested, thoughtful, anxious to excell. Don't kill them with drudgery; brains are worth more than stone walls, knowledge is more powerful than iron bars, study is more potent than physical force. Make home pleasant to

them, encourage social gatherings of young folks, promote sociability, company, amusements, variety of occupation. These are among the city's attractions, and the cause of the migration is apparent. Adopt the remedy, keep the boys on the farm; if more business is wanted supply it in increased and improved culture.

The tide is turning, the golden prizes of the great cities are slowly melting into iron links of bondage to ill-paid labor and toil; the great lotteries of trade have increased the number of blanks; sudden fortunes are changing into beggared want and misery. The hope of the country to-day is in the farm and in the farmer. The prodigal son longs to return to the home of his father: welcome him with outstretched arms, show him there is work enough for all, food and comfort for all who work. Let all join in lifting the profession, in making production honorable, farming desirable, country homes a blessing.

### OUR EASTERN NEIGHBORS.

A Pittsburg (Pa.) gentleman, wh has been visiting the maritime provinces of the Dominion of Canada, communicates his impressions to the Pittsburg *Press*, in the course of which he writes of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and its people, as follows:

"I think it is safe to say that the people generally of the United States have not only an inadequate, but an incorrect idea of the characteristics of this country and of its people. There are, of course, many exceptions among those who have visited this peninsula, or who have much commercial intercourse with its merchants and others, but, in the main, the millions of intelligent persons in the United States are apt to regard Nova Scotia as a far off cold, and almost inaccessible foreign land. Even this beautiful city of Halifax, with its elegant e'ffices, its magnificent bay, and its general aspect of modern refinement, as exhibited in its churches, stores, &c., is usually thought of only as a 'touching point for steamers between Europe and the 'States.' Few are even aware that there is an all rail route from the city of New York, through Boston, Portland, Bangor, and St. John, N. B., to the city of Halifax, and that there is a charming alternate route from St. John, crossing the Bay of Fundy by steamer, to Annapolis, N. S., and thence through the lovely, thickly-settled valleys of the Annapolis and Cornwallis rivers.

"The general impression abroad has been that the people of Nova Scotia are slow and

not up to the march of improvement of the times. It may be that Nova Scotia has been comparatively exempt from merely speculative advance, but the statistics of its population and industries prove that she has not only been prosperous, but that in the important item of shipbuilding she has been and is eminent. The climate of Nova Scotia is much the same as that of Massachusetts. Certainly it is not colder. The summers are warm; all kinds of grain and grasses grow luxuriantly, and the potatoes and other esculents are equal to any in the world.

"The government has been liberal in its railroad policy, and has encouraged the construction of leading lines, which now afford great facilities to all the industries of the country; and it is still extending a helping hand to other lines which when finished must add very materially not only to the localities through which they run, but to the general prosperity.

"The soil, almost everywhere, is remarkable for its fertility, and a very large proportion of the land is capable of cultivation; while in the eastern portion, where coal in abundance is found, mineral wealth is superadded. Some comparatively limited areas, covered with granite rocks and boulders, are not fit for agriculture; but these are exceptions, and not the rule. A considerable part is yet clothed with valuable timber."

THE Georgia Constitutional Convention will consist of 195 members.

## FREDERICK DOUGLASS,

UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Fifty years ago there was living near Washington city a negro boy about ten years old. He was a slave, his mother was a slave, and his grandmother also was a slave. All around him were slaves and negroes. The country was poor and barren in that region. All the wealth of the neighborhood was in bones and sinews of human beings. Nobody could read or write or speak the English language correctly. Amid all this physical and moral desolation this poor negro boy, Frederick Douglass, spent the early years of his life. He was worth as a chattel probably two hundred dollars in the slave market. But his master declined to sell him. Observing his smartness his owner sent him to Baltimore where he worked in a shipyard diligently, carrying home to his master every Saturday night the earnings of the week. Every cent went into his master's pocket! While at work in the city he picked up as he went along some sparks of knowledge. He learned somehow the letters of the alphabet. By-and-bye he could read. He knew he was a slave and had no right to an education. He soon found out that there were States where no slavery existed, or could exist, unlike Maryland and the District of Columbia. Every ray of light that his little education gave him seemed to deepen the shadows of his life of slavery. His mind was soon made up to seek a home in a free State. One day before the rebellion, when the slave power was dominant in Washington, a slave approached a group of Northern and Southern Senators begging contributions to purchase his freedom. Ben Wade was one of the Senators and said to the slave "Run away, don't beg money to pay to your master, run away—that's what I should do."

This seemed to have been the idea Douglass entertained, and run away he did. He was now twenty years old. His destination proved providentially to be New Bedford, Mass., one of the most anti-slavery towns in the North. For about a year he was the servant of a noted Democrat in that town. At length he was called to go up yet higher. Attend-

ing an abolitionist meeting he was asked to tell his story, as a slave, to the audience.

This was the *open sesame* of his future career. The officers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at once engaged him as one of their agents and orators. He soon became the most effective advocate of universal and immediate emancipation in the United States.

Embarrassed by the danger of capture and return to slavery, he nevertheless told his wonderful story to large and excited audiences in many of the principal towns in Massachusetts. He grew moreover intellectually, beyond all the expectations of his new made friends. They even attempted to restrict and to curb his astonishing eloquence and increasing wisdom, for the people began to say "*That man was never a slave. He is a colored Webster.*"

In 1845 it was deemed wise that he should go to Europe. The danger of his return to slavery was constantly increasing as he became more and more widely known as an orator and a fugitive. He remained in England nearly two years, addressing immense throngs of people throughout the United Kingdom. The nobility and the common people alike listened with enthusiasm to his marvelous eloquence and his strange story. His friends in Great Britain treated him as a distinguished guest, and at parting contributed seven hundred and fifty dollars to purchase his freedom. Douglass was criticised and blamed by a few people at home for accepting such a boon. It was said to recognize the legality of slavery, and to be inconsistent with emancipation, unconditional and immediate.

The sum raised was, however, regarded by the contributors as a *ransom* of a prisoner held in worse than Algerine bondage. Moreover, Douglass took no part in the transaction, and consented to it only by his silence. It enabled him to return to America *legally* free from the danger of recapture under the fugitive slave act of 1850.

Douglass now, on his return to the United States, became the star at all anti-slavery con-

ventions and meetings. These meetings were often broken up by mobs. In New York city the mob was led by Captain Rynders. He was the captain of the Empire Club, composed of thieves, gamblers and vagabonds. It was this club that defeated Henry Clay in 1844. Rynders would sometimes mount the platform where Douglass was speaking and take entire control of the meeting, backed as he was by his "club." At one time, we remember, he stood by the side of Douglass while the latter was speaking and interrupted him frequently with jeers and oaths. Douglass, in the course of his speech, criticised the politicians and the clergy, as defenders of slavery. Rynders rudely stopped him, exclaiming "You may abuse the politicians and the Constitution, but I'll be d—d if you shall abuse the ministers and the Bible." Rynders was subsequently appointed by a Democratic administration marshal of the Southern District of New York. He acknowledged Douglass' ability, but denied that he was a negro.

Douglass next appeared as the editor and proprietor of a newspaper which bore the name of "*Frederick Douglass' Paper*." It was published at Rochester, N. Y., where Douglass became a citizen and a voter under the laws of New York allowing colored men to vote, provided they owned real estate worth two hundred and fifty dollars. He also published his autobiography in a volume of 464 pages, entitled "*My Bondage and My Freedom*." It had an immense sale. We hope he may continue in the same attractive style the romantic record of his life to its close. After the "John Brown raid" it was thought prudent that he should visit Europe again. Even before the war he was spoken of as a candidate for Congress from one of the districts of the State of New York. In 1872 he was chosen a Presidential elector—his name being at the head of the electoral ticket—and cast his vote Grant and Wilson. Since the war he has resided, most of the time, in the District of Columbia, where he has been recognized by the different administrations as an influential citizen and a wise counselor. President Grant selected him as the secretary and a member of the distinguished commission appointed to visit San Domingo in 1871.

He was at the time editor of the *New National Era*, a weekly newspaper published by his sons in the District of Columbia. For the past few years he has been chiefly engaged in speaking from lecture and political platforms. His address at the unveiling of the Lincoln statue recently was one of his best efforts, and proved that the vigor of his mind is unabated after a labor of forty years. Among the first acts of President Hayes was to appoint Mr. Douglass marshal of the District of Columbia—an office of honor and great responsibility. Until a recent period it was the special duty of this officer to arrest fugitive slaves, to confine them in the jail, and to return them to their masters. This service was performed even under Mr. Lincoln's administration until an order was issued by the Secretary of State to the marshal to discontinue the practice at once and entirely. Imagine such a duty imposed upon Frederick Douglass! Think of the time when he himself was exposed to the clutches of some United States marshal! Surely there was a marvelous fitness in appointing Frederick Douglass United States marshal for the District of Columbia.

**PERVERSION OF THE PRESS.**—Quintilian, in his "*Education of an Orator*," observes that as soon as the tongue became an instrument of gain it was made a practice to abuse the gifts of eloquence, and those who were esteemed as eloquent abandoned the care of morals. A similar perversion of the press seems to be in progress. The orator should discover the truth, and present it for the information and guidance of his hearers. In certain sense the press should, in a similar way, be the medium of communicating truth. It should inform, entertain, and benefit mankind. But it has often become an instrument of gain. No limit but profit is often set to its perversion. The newspaper is conducted for profit like any other commercial business. It is made to sell. Many of its writers think it must produce a sensation without reference to truth. Such perversion of the press, however, is being more and more understood by the public mind, and in consequence the press is less regarded as a safe guide and counselor.

## CARPET-BAGGERS AND EMIGRANTS FOR THE SOUTH.

There seems to be a yearning desire for emigrants to settle among the people of the Southern States. The Southern press teems with invitations to strangers to visit various localities in the South, enjoy the beauties of the climate and landscape for a season, and examine the quality of the soil in order to confirm the boasting fluency of the native seller, who, it must be observed, confines himself to the excellence of what he has to dispose of, and religiously avoids all reference to the character of the inhabitants who would become the neighbors, if not associates, of the emigrant induced to purchase. Not long since a Northern gentleman was traveling in Virginia, "the mother of Presidents" before she took part in the slaveowners' rebellion. He landed from a steamer which plied upon the Rappahannock, a noble inland sea, capable of floating the largest merchant vessels which could carry away the surplus crops of corn, cotton, and tobacco, if there were any means of taking that surplus to the waterside. A railway had been talked of for years, but it had not been built. It is not yet built, and no one would prophecy willingly when it will be built by a community marked by as profound a determination never to do to-day what can be put off till to-morrow, and never to do to-morrow what they can get anybody else to do for them, as their conviction is exquisite that they are born Democrats, who hate carpet-baggers from the Northern States, yet bemoan the want of emigrants to buy their lands and live on the property. The Northern gentleman soon encountered the universal sigh for emigration. There were estates for sale and no purchasers. Not a sign of industry appeared anywhere. There was no money, no trade—nothing that would indicate a cultured population; but there was every indication that "loafing" was widely prevalent, and work avoided; that there was a strong prejudice against "Yankees" or Northern men, and a proud indulgence in strong Democratic talk, with indications that the "lost cause" might recover itself if the people could have their way. The Northern gentleman was struck with the repeated and

open denunciation of Northern men, especially as most of the Democrats he had conversed with had property for sale. A Virginian, who had held a Federal office, and had much to say, responded to an inquiry with this information:

"I have just come into town because I could not live in the country. I have a farm of twenty-four hundred acres, but I cannot live upon it. You cannot cultivate a farm without capital. We want capital. We want emigrants, sir, to buy our land."

"Why not divide the farm into six, sell five, and live upon the sixth?"

"Impossible!"

The gentleman said: "You say you want emigration—people to come here and buy your farms. You do not conceal your sentiments toward Northern men, who are mostly Republicans. What reason have you to expect they will come here? What inducements do you offer? You speak against them, and would doubtless ostracise them if they dwelt here. What you want now is their money. You would be civil; you would tell them what an excellent farm you wish to sell. But people with money in their pockets do not settle in communities like yours if they know it. I suppose you would be civil to them till you had sold your farm, and got the money for it in your own pocket. To-morrow, if you met them in the street, you would not know the Republican strangers; you would pretend not to see them, or pass without speaking. What society would they have in this place?"

"The truth is we want their money, but we want them to come in sufficient numbers to form their own society."

"Emigrants that came in sufficient numbers to form their own society" were required by the people who lived on the banks of the Rappahannock! In other words, that village of Virginia Democrats had no other idea than to take the money for what they sell to Republican settlers, if foolish enough to go there; they had no idea of duty between man and man—of citizenship, of courtesy, of the sweet humanities of life. As

Southerners and Democrats they invited Northern Republicans, with money enough to buy a homestead anywhere, to buy from them—to believe their locality to be a paradise—and when they did so they were nothing more than "carpet-baggers," the very things to be hated and despised, although they came at their invitation, and paid for the property they held. Northern Democrats would be tolerated with some degree of brotherhood but no length of residence by a Republican in a Democratic population in the South would make him other than a carpet-bagger.

The men that hold it right to stigmatize Republicans in the South as carpet-baggers are the very incarnation of stagnation. They are imbued with a spirit that leads to outrage and to evils which all good men deplore. To show how deep down in the Southern Democratic heart is the senseless notion of reproaching a Northern man for being a carpet-bagger a Southern newspaper had an obituary notice of the recent death of an aged citizen, which the *Wilmington (N. C.) Post* reproduces with a comment, to which we direct public attention:

"The *Morganton Blade* says: 'Mr. Peter Epley, of Silver Creek Township said to be the oldest man in the county, died April 22d, 1877. He came from Pennsylvania to this country about sixty years ago, and during that time has enjoyed the respect and confidence of our people. He was 97 years old.'

"We certainly drew a long breath of relief when we had read and comprehended the full import of the above paragraph. Here was a young man who was probably born long after this old man of ninety-seven had settled in our county of Burke, and desiring to embalm his memory in a few kindly and unstudied words could find nothing more pleasant to say of him than that he had 'enjoyed the respect and confidence of our people!' This, while it was the most mellifluous eulogium which naturally rose to the brain of the unsophisticated writer, furnishes the key to the predominant sentiment of the Southern Democratic population. He did not condescend to mention that the old man's character was good, that he had led a virtuous and useful life, or that he was an exemplary citizen. But, rising eagle-like on the wings of a terse rhetoric, with one single swoop in the air, he summed up his octogenarian virtues in the fact that in a patient life of sixty years in Burke county he had com-

manded the 'respect and confidence of our people!' Blazing epitaph to be inscribed on the venerable carpet-bagger's tombstone! Lofty epigram in which to enshrine the ashes of a man who did not happen to be born in our county of Burke, and who had only lived there sixty years! Ho! land of Penn! dark and gloomy and benighted clime! send on the balance of your sons, in order that they may find sepulture beneath these lovely eulogiums! Ho! all people from the whole world! Come to Burke county, and when after three score years' residence you have established yourself in the 'respect and confidence of our people' you will have a character fit to die with, and your name can go down to posterity honorably. This is the way to get a character."

What the leaders of the Democratic party in the South are doing, and what are the aims of the conductors of the Southern Democratic press, may be imagined from the warning notes in a letter written by General Leach, who was a member of the last Congress from North Carolina. He had been a member of the Confederate Congress, and the following extract from his letter reveals something at variance with even his Democratic conscience in the party of his choice. There is no misinterpreting his words. He says:

"I will venture a prediction: If trouble shall come to the Democratic party, (which for years after the war was known in this State as the Conservative party,) and [if] it should lose alike its prestige and its power, it will not be by the fault or misconduct of the moderate and thoughtful men of the party, but on account of the rashness and partisan bitterness and intolerance of extreme men and newspapers denouncing moderate and wise men of their own party whom they shall fail to coerce and dragoon into their own unwise, if not fatal, policies and principles, and continually reviling, with indiscriminate censure, the policy and measures of political opponents, whether right or wrong, wise or wicked."

Wherever the Democratic party is in power the same charges have been made. That party is in power in the South through violence and bloodshed. The moral sense of Christendom is shocked at the attitude of the Democrats in the States that form part of the United States—a murderous minority, claiming to control the destinies of the majority, without sufficient honor to make confession of the fraud and the crime. The Nemesis of history never sleeps. Vengeance will overtake the Democratic assassins and their instigators.

## IRON SHIPBUILDING IN THE UNITED STATES.

ENGLAND NOW NO LONGER THE CHEAPEST MARKET—THE GREAT CHANGES OF THE LAST FIVE YEARS—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YARDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From the New York Tribune, April 7, 1877.]

One of the most profitable industries in the world is iron shipbuilding. There is a fortune in it for the builder who understands his business and has organized it properly; and it is a lucrative thing for the people among whom it is carried on. It puts immense sums of money into circulation, very much larger than people are generally aware of, and it gives employment to more trades than any other industry. Its benefits to a people continue after the expenditure of money for labor and materials. A ship once set afloat upon the waters and actively employed in commerce gives continual occupation to labor on land and sea. Repairs and supplies are continually called for by it, and an amount of money equal to 50 per cent. of its cost, if it is a steamship, and 30 per cent. if it is a sailer, is expended upon it and by it annually during the whole of its active existence. It has to be replaced, too, in time, so that when once set going in a good trade the employment it gives to labor and capital is permanent. The business of building iron ships is a matter entirely distinct from that of working them. The latter pays well in a good trade. Nearly all of the splendid steamships plying between this country and Europe, and up and down our coast, have been built out of the profits of the companies owning them. There are periods, no doubt, when the business of navigation does not pay, and great losses are entailed on the owners of ships. Whether commerce pays or not, it always pays to build ships, steamers and sailers, of wood as well as of iron, eventually; if not for our own trade it will do so for other nations, and it is a thing of direct national importance to have the art carried on upon as large a scale as possible within one's borders.

Nowhere is this fact so well understood as in England. In that intelligent country every possible encouragement has been given especially to the iron shipbuilding interest; and this has been done not only to secure a commercial supremacy, but to secure the benefits at home of the steady and profitable employment of the labor of the country and the continued consumption of materials. Bankers, ironmasters, and others have placed their material resources at the command of the builders, upon the most favorable terms. Government has given them large contracts, thereby enabling the shipbuilders to possess a reputation for building their own navy and also for the navies of all Europe. Writers and statesmen have set themselves about diffusing

ideas throughout the world favorable to the interests of English builders, for the sake of securing the very large sale possible of their ships to the people of the other nations of the earth. All England has acted like one man in this manner of expanding this extremely profitable industry. It is a lasting credit to their intelligence and statesmanship.

A great opportunity was presented to the shipbuilders of England by the four years' war in the United States. It was the greatest chance they ever had. It enlarged the field in which English ships could be employed enormously. The builders took prompt advantage of their opportunity of course, and produced a prodigious number of vessels; and one of the results of their labors is that today every one of the large Atlantic harbors in this country looks like an English seaport. Very few of the sailing vessels bear the American flag, and it flies from only four of the steamships engaged in the Transatlantic trade. Some months' not a single American ship leaves the port of New York for a port in Great Britain; nine out of every ten vessels which do go are English built and owned. This is a great triumph for the English builders and a source of great prosperity to them and the inhabitants of their country. Probably no other industry in Great Britain has put into circulation among the people during the last fifteen years a larger sum of money. It has, moreover, given occupation to the very best class of mechanics, and, while paying them good wages, has kept them steadily employed.

#### ENGLAND'S INSATIABLE DEMANDS.

One would suppose that the commercial conquests of England during the last 15 years, and the unprecedented development of her shipping trade, would have contented her builders and left them nothing to wish. Yet this is not the fact. The human heart is never satisfied, and the agents of the English builders are as eagerly at work in all quarters of the globe, contriving, plotting and arguing to enlarge the field in which English commerce can be carried on and English ships sold and employed, as though their industry were in its merest infancy rather than in its robust development. Their special point of attack at the present moment is the navigation laws of the United States. Not content with transacting nine-tenths of the foreign commerce of this country, they want our navigation laws broken down, so that

English ships may crowd their way into our profitable coasting trade. They would like Free Trade in ships, so that if possible shipbuilding might be crushed out in this country and the business transferred to England. They would like to repeat in the United States that which has been accomplished in Brazil, where English steamers swarm on every navigable river and in every harbor, and transact nearly all the coasting and foreign trade of that extravagant and improvident empire. The attack against our laws is carried on with a single argument. It is constantly urged by their representatives in this country that there are no shipbuilders deserving the name in the United States, and that English ships are the cheapest and best in the world. This is the argument which is constantly repeated by the English builders, and it is met with in the writings and utterances of all who work in their interest. The object of this statement is on the face of it exclusively a selfish one, and not by any means a desire to furnish the Americans with ships cheaper than they can get them now. Nevertheless, interested though the motive plainly is, there is reason to believe that the English are actually convinced of the truth of this claim. This conviction proceeds from the grossest ignorance of the situation of affairs on this side of the water; yet there is reason to believe that the English do really think they can build the best and cheapest ships in the world. A single illustration both of their ignorance and their conviction on this subject has been afforded within the past fortnight. An old-established English shipping house, old enough certainly to know better, hearing that a gentleman of this city thinks of establishing a steamship line to Brazil, has written to him offering to sell him the ships to put on the line, whereas he is himself building better, faster and cheaper ships than those offered every year. There may also be cited the language of a circular recently issued by another shipping house, that of David Brown & Co. of Leadenhall street, London, which is the most recent utterance on the subject. It makes a direct attack which requires something more than mere casual attention. The circular says:

"We think it time that American shipowners should realize the serious fact that iron shipping is fast acquiring an important ascendancy over wooden ships in the carrying trade. To such an extent is this now apparent, that even from San Francisco iron ships obtain 2s. 6d. per ton higher rates than wooden vessels when chartering on this side, while from Calcutta, Bombay and the rice ports the difference ranges from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per ton. Wooden ships are almost entirely excluded from the berth business from London, Liverpool and other loading ports

in England, throwing them necessarily into the coal and other weight carrying trades. This marked difference is sufficiently serious when freights are plentiful, but when freights are low and scarce, it amounts almost to a prohibition. It behooves American shipowners, therefore, to consider their disadvantageous position, in not being allowed to compete with those of all other countries by buying their ships in the cheapest market. The Protective laws of the United States might serve the interests of shipbuilders, if any builders pure and simple really existed but it does appear a hardship that the owners, who for the most part now build their own ships, should be hampered by such restrictions, and have their shipping property confined to such ships only as are built in the United States. Indeed, this state of things must change ere long, or the American owners will be obliged to seek other more remunerative investments for their capital. Iron ships in this country can now be built at about £13 10s. to £14 per ton, with most profuse outfit, including a double suit of sails."

#### GROWTH OF AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

This circular was no doubt written by its author primarily to produce a certain effect on the minds of American merchants, and to back up the irresponsible utterances of the Free Trade leagues which have been formed in this country in the interests of English capitalists. The circular has, however, had a wide circulation all over the world, and it is unfortunately the case that, both at home and abroad, there are only too many merchants who stand ready to believe its assertions and repeat its claims. Neither at home nor abroad do people sufficiently understand yet that the English now no longer construct better or cheaper iron ships than the Americans. Five years ago they did. They do not to-day, and anybody who believes that they do is five years behind the times.

This claim of the English shipbuilders, which is re-echoed for the thousandth time in this circular, is calculated to do harm to one of the most important industries of the United States—an industry which, after years of toil and experiment and plucky fighting against enormous odds, has finally conquered all obstacles and worked its way up into a position where it can serve the merchants of the United States as well as they can be served in any other country. Whatever tends to injure this industry is justly to be viewed with alarm; and, as the constant repetition of false ideas in regard to it must have that effect, it is right that the American side of the question should now be brought out with emphasis and an explicit denial be given to the unfounded claim of superiority and greater cheapness of English-built iron vessels. The claim

has had a wide circulation. The answer should have an equal one. This circular of David Brown & Co. has already received attention in this city. *The Graphic* was the first to reply to it. The number of that paper of February 7 discussed the subject in an article a column long, and made probably the first clear statement of the side of the American builders which has been put forth. Other papers have made mention of the subject. The circular, however, has continued on its mission, and the American builders are desirous that it should receive further attention. Some figures have been furnished by them and by the Register of the Treasury which make it possible to reply to it with great emphasis.

Before going on to discuss the main question it might be well, in passing, to glance briefly at the statement that iron ships are fast acquiring an ascendancy over those of wood. There is no doubt some truth in the assertion. *The Graphic* spoke of this point as follows:

"Nearly all the transoceanic steamers are made of iron now, and it is rarely that a wooden steamer is built for the foreign trade, either in this country or any other; and as for our coasting trade, conversation with American builders reveals the fact that there are more iron steamers than wooden ones building in the yards of the country for that purpose. It is true, however, that the American shipowner does not realize the importance of building his sailing vessels of iron, and that he has done very little in that direction, notwithstanding the example set him by his English competitor. English sailing vessels are now built almost exclusively of iron, and it is the remarkable feature of the shipbuilding business on the Clyde in 1876 that the number and tonnage of iron sailing vessels launched exceeded, for the first time in history, those of iron screw vessels. Reason and example are now against the Yankee shipowner, yet he still sticks to his wooden sailing ship."

#### IRON VERSUS WOOD.

These remarks are believed to be sound. It ought to be said, however, that the object of the circular, in speaking about the ascendancy of iron in navigation, is to convey the idea to shipowners and capitalists that iron is the only material out of which ships can be built for profitable use. This is advanced merely because England has the iron and the coal, but no wood. The argument has a strong family likeness to that in the old fable "The Town in Danger," where opinions were called for as to the best material for defense: The stonemason favored the use of stone; the bricklayer was in favor of brick; the carpenter was for wood; and finally the currier

argued with much force that there was nothing like leather. If England had wood she would still build of wood; and she originally changed to iron, not because iron is a better material, but because if England had not discovered another material besides wood for shipbuilding, a material which she could produce cheaply at home, she would have been driven out of the business entirely, and the shipbuilding of the world would have been transferred to America.

It is not necessary here to go into the question of the superiority of iron over wooden vessels. They are superior no doubt. They last longer, and need less repairing. The capitalist and merchant can decide that, however, for themselves. But it ought to be said that rich cargoes have been and still are carried safely in wooden vessels, and wooden vessels will yet be built, but not by England. The wood is in America, and England cannot compete with this country in building that class of ships. No matter what the facts may be as to iron, American built wooden vessels have no superiors in the world to-day, either in point of ability, cheapness, length of life, or the favor of the insurance companies. It is doubtful whether the English builders even know how to build a first-class wooden ship at present.

Now as to England being at this time "the cheapest market for iron ships," and as to there being "really no builders pure and simple" in this country, it is suggested that upon this point the testimony of greatest value is not that of the English. They know very little of the progress of shipbuilding in the United States, and their motive of hostility to shipbuilding here is already proved. A better insight into the real truth of the case can be gained from what is seen at American shipyards themselves, and from what shipowners and responsible builders on this side of the water say.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

Take first the cost of ships. Upon that subject a great deal might be said, but the whole case can be summed up in a very few words. There are only six grand items in the cost of a ship, and upon these alone depends the position of a country as a shipbuilding nation. They are iron, copper, wood, coal, labor, and machinery. Now that which, five years ago, gave England the superiority in respect to shipbuilding was the cheapness of her raw materials and labor and the possession of all the facilities for building an iron ship. In this country the facilities were extremely imperfect; pig iron was \$45 a ton, coal was high, labor was high, and copper was cheaper in England. But now mark what has taken place. Under the protection of the laws of the United States,

the American builders have been enabled in the first place, to create the facilities for building an iron ship rapidly, easily, and cheaply. They have been enabled to put into their yards rolling mills, furnaces, shops and a remarkably large quantity of the best labor-saving machinery in the world, much of this machinery being exclusively of American invention and not in use in any other country. One single builder, Mr. John Roach, has spent, including his original capital invested in the business, as much as \$2,000,000 within the last five years in supplying his yards with the facilities for carrying on the business in a proper manner, which is permanently invested for this purpose, and other builders have done proportionately. The facilities, therefore, have been created, and they are so admirable and complete that Mr. Laird, who visited this country during the Centennial Exhibition, was astonished at them, and was obliged to admit that the industry in this country had made extraordinary progress. Then the prices of raw materials have been reduced. About 2,000 tons of iron enter into the composition of a 3,000-ton ship, and every \$5 in the cost of pig iron per ton, therefore, makes a difference of about \$10,000 in the cost of a vessel. Time was when it was utterly hopeless to compete with England in making anything of which iron was the principal component. She had the only cheap metal in the world, and pig iron ranged from \$45 to \$70 a ton in the United States. But within the last five years the manufacture of iron has received an extraordinary development in the United States. The country is full of iron, coal and limestone. In many States, these three articles are found on the same tract of land in close juxtaposition. The mines have latterly been worked on an unprecedented scale, and the consequence is that the price of pig iron to shipbuilders has fallen to \$8 a ton, the importations of iron have fallen off from 800,000 tons to 165,000, and iron is to-day as cheap in the United States as anywhere in the world. But the great item of expense in a ship is labor. Labor constitutes fully 60 per cent. of the cost of a steamer and at least 50 per cent. of the cost of a sailing vessel. Going back to the raw materials, the iron and copper ore, the coal and the wood, it will be found that labor is fully 95 per cent. of the cost of a steamship; but starting with the pig metal and sawed lumber, about 80 per cent. Now this item has been cheapened to American builders in two ways. First they dispense with a very large amount of it by the use of labor-saving machinery which the English do not employ; and next the price of labor has been more nearly equalized in the two hemispheres. Mr. Laird admitted that with

the appliances in use in American shipyards it might be possible, all other things being the same, for Americans to produce as cheap a ship as the English, and even pay the men better wages. As for copper, the price of that has fallen so that the United States exports it; and as for wood, it is hardly necessary to refer to that at all. Now these three things—the equalization of the prices of labor, the cheapening of raw materials, and the creation of facilities—have made the American builder, having his business properly organized, every inch the peer of his brethren in other lands. They have qualified him to build a ship as cheap as it can be constructed anywhere on the planet. His ability to do so may be a recent thing, but it is a sure thing now and is believed to be a permanent thing.

The mere recital of these facts ought to throw doubt at the very outset upon the validity of the claim that England is the cheapest market for iron ships. Never in any case where an American industry has been able to obtain its raw materials as cheap as the foreign industry, and its labor very nearly as cheap, and where it has been enabled to create the machinery and facilities for carrying on the business, has it been beaten by any other nation in respect to the excellence and cheapness of its products. On the contrary, it generally excels, because the Americans employ a greater amount of labor-saving machinery, and their hand labor is more efficient than the average in Europe.

#### AMERICA'S ADVANTAGES.

But the reply to David Brown & Co.'s circular by no means ends here. There is much more to be said. The claim of superiority is not all on one side. Americans claim that they now are actually in the superior position in respect to the cost of building iron ships. It must not be forgotten that a large part of an iron ship is composed of wood, and that the American machinists have always made the most efficient and economical engines in the world. Their engines have always been original in form and idea, and have attracted special attention abroad. and from the origination of the old Collins line to the present day, and from the beginning of railroad building, their locomotives on land and sea have always excelled in speed and economy. Considering, therefore, the advantages of the United States in respect to wood, iron, inventive genius, and efficient labor, it is confidently claimed by American builders that they now enjoy a superior position to those of any other country for the production of efficient and economical ships. There is something practical about this claim, too. It is not at all a vague generalization. There is not a res-

ponsible builder in the United States who has his business properly organized, who does not now say that he is at this time ready to compete with foreign builders in submitting proposals for steamers and sailing vessels, and who does not stand ready to take a contract for the same price in currency for which a responsible builder will contract in gold. A shipmaster, for instance, who wants a vessel built after the specifications of the English Lloyds can obtain it as readily and at as low a price from John Roach at Chester, Penn., and New York; from the Harlan & Hollingsworth Company, and Pusey, Jones & Co. of Wilmington Del., Cramp & Sons of Philadelphia, and perhaps from others, as he can get it on the Clyde.

What the ship-buyers say corroborates this claim of the American builders. To take the most striking illustration which presents itself at this moment, reference may be had to the four large steamships built in Philadelphia in 1872, each of 3,100 tons burden, for the American Steamship line to Liverpool. The officers of the American Steamship Company say that their ships were obtained at as low a price as they could have been had they been built on the Clyde; and it is a fact well known in commercial circles that those four ships have just been accorded a lower rate of insurance by the English underwriters than any of the 200 and more running from this country across the Atlantic Ocean, two ships only excepted, and those two get no better rate than the American line. Some of the ships of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company are considered to have been built for as low a price as that for which the same class of vessels was produced abroad at the time they were built. The beautiful steamers which have been built of late years for the coasting fleet, have also been furnished at rates entirely satisfactory to their purchasers, and their rating by the insurance companies stamps them as among the best specimens of marine architecture afloat. They are always rated as A 1 for 20 years, a generation, a business life-time. The high standing of these ships is important because it shows that in order to obtain economy in their cost the builders have not put cheap materials and poor labor into the ships, as is often and notoriously done in England, but that they have been enabled to produce steamers at a cost satisfactory to buyers while maintaining the high character of the vessel itself. As for iron sailing ships, they are not yet built to any extent in this country, for the reason already stated that there is no demand for them yet, the preference here being for wooden vessels. Probably not over half a dozen of them have ever been launched from American yards; at least, if there have been, there is no re-

cord of the fact. American builders are ready however to furnish this class of vessels at the rates quoted on the Clyde. According to the circular referred to above, iron sailing ships are now produced by the builders of that river at from £13 10s. to £14 per ton in gold. Mr. John Roach says that within the present year he will complete any number of iron sailing ships, from one to six, for the same price in currency, and deliver them on the other side, provided he has the privilege of taking a cargo in them. He will guarantee, furthermore, that when completed they will receive the best ratings from European or American insurance companies.

#### IRON VESSELS BUILT IN THIS COUNTRY.

A few words now with reference to the amount of iron shipbuilding in the United States. The business is no doubt in its comparative infancy, but there is more of it done than people are aware. The business began in 1868. Since that time according to a statement placed at the disposal of *The Tribune* by the Register of the Treasury, there have been built in the United States, for American owners, 251 iron vessels of all sizes, having a total tonnage of 197,500. About 150 were vessels of good size. They rank as follows:

Less than 100 tons.....	57
From 100 to 500 tons.....	73
From 500 to 1,000 tons.....	41
From 1,000 to 2,000 tons.....	61
From 2,000 to 3,000 tons.....	9
From 3,000 to 4,000 tons.....	8
Over 5,000 tons.....	2

Total,..... 251

From the yearly reports it appears that the annual aggregate of iron vessels built in the United States is now over 30, worth from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000; and the business is expanding year by year. At the present time there are building, or under contract, on the Delaware, 9 large iron steamships of the first class, ranging from 1,800 to 2,500 tons burden, besides a number of powerful iron tugs of 200 or 300 tons burden and other small craft. Of the large vessels, John Roach has eight, including two monitors for the United States Government.

The intimation in the circular of Brown & Co., that there are no iron shipbuilders pure and simple in the United States, has no foundation whatever. There are a number of such builders and they rank with any in the world. John Roach & Son alone claim to have constructed more iron ships within five years than any builder in England. Since 1872, when they began to make iron ships, the firm have built 33 iron steamers (counting those now under contract) having a

total tonnage 68,150, of this tonnage 32,500 being now engaged in the foreign trade, and some of it subsidized by the British Government, after the refusal of a subsidy by our own. Engines have been built for these vessels with an indicated horsepower of 44,920, and other engines for hulls constructed at other yards, having an indicated horsepower of 25,260. The large sum of \$14,890,151 has been (or will have been by Sept. 1) paid out by the firm for the materials and labor of the country. This has all been done by a single American yard.

While the General Government has shown

no disposition to aid this interest further than to maintain our registry laws, the whole tonnage referred to above, while being built for the merchant service, is adapted to the use of our navy when required, and is at all times available for this purpose without cost to the Government. There could be called together at 10 days' notice, 50 iron screw steamers, of from 11 to 14 knots speed, fully manned and equipped under the American flag, for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, and their value for this purpose is force explained in the reports made by Admiral David D. Porter, U. S. N.

### AFTER THE BATTLE.

De Tocqueville remarks that under our system of government every Presidential election produces a national crisis. Whether that be true or not we cannot deny that the recent Presidential election produced a crisis which, for a time, threatened the very existence of our republican institutions. But it is in just such crises that the Constitution and the fundamental principles of our governmental system furnish adequate and efficient remedies. Though the situation of affairs was anomalous and embarrassing it was dangerous chiefly for the reason that it was unprecedented in American history. Yet similar situations are not unknown to the history of other peoples. Hence it is fair to presume that the founders of our government were not unmindful of that fact, and provided a remedy in the organic law for the difficulties created by the crisis. A review of the leading constitutional principles and issues involved will, therefore, be interesting and useful:

The first principle evolved was that the electoral colleges alone are the judges of the elections and qualifications of their members.

We have only to look into the debates of the Constitutional Convention in order to learn what idea the framers of the Constitution had as to the functions of the electoral colleges. There can be no doubt but that it was intended that these should be deliberative assemblies, with all the privileges and prerogatives of such bodies. There will be found running through all the debates upon this subject the idea that these colleges were to be deliberative bodies, and independent in

all their actions for the purpose of accomplishing the object of their creation.

Now, the most important power, as well as the highest prerogative of deliberative bodies (and it is a principle that pervades our entire political system) is that of being the judges of the election and qualification of their own members. It is the soundest American doctrine, as well as that of every constitutional government, that deliberative bodies have the sole right to pass upon questions that may arise in regard to the election of any or all their members. Apply that doctrine to the Oregon case and all its difficulty and confusion vanish. The people of that State, being entitled to cast their electoral votes, chose for that purpose Messrs. Cartwright, Odell, and Watts. It was afterward alleged that one of the electors (Mr. Watts) was ineligible from the fact that he held an office of profit and trust under the United States at the time he was chosen elector. A protest was filed with the Governor of that State against the granting of a certificate of election to said Watts on the ground of his ineligibility. The Governor deemed it proper, for reasons the nature of which it is unnecessary now to discuss, to withhold the certificate from Watts, and to grant to the person (Mr. Cronin) receiving the next highest number of votes the certificate of election. The question was at once raised, and very naturally, as to the legality of this procedure. That the Governor might refuse the certificate to Watts was conceded if there should be established a *prima facie* case as to his ineligibility; but that he

should grant a certificate of election to a man who had not been elected was incomprehensible to legal minds.

However, Cronin received the certificate of election from the Governor, and we are of the opinion that this gave him a *prima facie* case. Now, concerning two of the electors, there was no question as to their election, and being the majority of the college they could meet and organize. They, and they alone, had the right to pass upon any question touching the election and qualification of their colleague. The moment they decided Cronin had not been elected, and that he was not entitled to act with them, his rights were determined and his functions ceased. Their action in the matter was final, and there was no power anywhere in the government to review it. We go further, and affirm that if a majority of the electoral college had decided that Watts was eligible at the time of his election, that decision would have been final and beyond review.

On the same principle we dispose of all the cases of ineligible persons cited in other States. Thus, when the colleges of New Jersey, Missouri, and Virginia decided to act with persons alleged to be ineligible, they passed upon this question, and decided that they were eligible, and their action in the matter could not be reviewed or called in question. Hence any attempt of any person, or any number of persons, to organize themselves into electoral colleges, after the majority of said colleges has decided that such person or persons were not entitled to act in the capacity of electors, was simply absurd. It avails nothing to plead the certificate of the Governor; that can only give a *prima facie* case until the college acts—it can do no more. When the college had acted the Governor's certificate was of no more value than so much blank paper. We will illustrate: In 1870 the Legislature of North Carolina elected Mr. Vance, the present Governor, to the Senate of the United States. A question was raised as to his eligibility, and it was discovered that he was really disabled by reason of his participation in the war of the rebellion; whereupon the Governor of North Carolina, acting upon the principle which seems to have controlled

the action of the Governor of Oregon, granted the certificate of election to Mr. Abbott, the opponent of Governor Vance. In due time the case was brought before the Senate, and Mr. Abbott was rejected on the ground that he had not been elected by the Legislature of his State. More recently the Senate rejected the claims of Mr. Pinchback, of Louisiana, on the more questionable ground that he had been chosen by an illegal Legislature. No one doubts for a moment that the action of the Senate in these cases was final and beyond review. Granting that the electoral colleges are as independent in their action as the Senate of the United States, and it results that Mr. Abbott or Mr. Pinchback would have as much right to organize himself into a Senate and proceed to fill vacancies as any person, after having been rejected by the majority of an electoral college, would have to organize himself into another college. The assumption was so absurd that it needed but to be stated in order to be demolished. Hence it results that the only electoral college in Oregon was the one of which Messrs. Cartwright and Odell formed the majority, and that Mr. Watts, who they admitted to act with them, was eligible. They cast the electoral vote of Oregon, and consequently there was no other legal returns from that State.

Now let us apply the same principle to the returns from what were termed the doubtful States. In the examinations of these questions we should always remember that ours is a representative and not a purely democratic form of government. Now, the distinguishing feature of representative government is this: There must necessarily be checks and barriers, not only for the repositories of power, but also to restrain and guide the unsteady current of popular passions. Representative government has for its aim the most accurate reflection of the intelligence and virtue of the community, while a purely democratic government floats upon the broad sea of popular uncertainty. Under our form of government elections are held for the purpose of obtaining the free and untrammeled expression of the will of the electors. Now, where a vote is cast from fear, or by force or violence, that is not the

free and untrammeled expression of the will of the elector; he is restrained in his liberty; he votes under *duress*. Hence, in all countries where any pretence is made to popular representative government it has long been a settled principle that votes cast under the pressure of what is termed in modern nomenclature intimidation shall not be taken into account when the results of an election is to be ascertained. What constitutes such intimidation, and how far such intimidation should go in order to invalidate an election, each State will, of course, decide for itself. In France the slightest undue influence brought to bear upon the elector is considered intimidation. Thus, if a priest should say from his pulpit to his parishioners that it was their Christian duty to vote for A or to vote against B this would be considered intimidation in the eye of the law, and if the election turned upon the votes of these parishioners it would be invalidated. Now, while we may not accept this extreme view of intimidation no one will deny to any State in this Union the right to enact such laws and to make such regulations as will protect its citizens in the exercise of rights conferred by law, and to take such precautions as will enable the authorities of the States to obtain the free and untrammeled expression of the popular will. As a matter of fact all the States have adopted measures more or less stringent for this purpose. It results, therefore, under our system of government that an election is not complete when all the votes are polled. It is only complete when the votes shall have been canvassed, and the result declared by the persons designated by law for that purpose. Now if, as was the case in the disputed States, returning boards are established for this purpose, an election in such States was only complete when the board had canvassed the votes and had declared the result. It may be argued that the system is vicious; that it gives great opportunity for fraud; that fraud was actually perpetrated, and upon a stupendous scale. It is not our purpose to discuss the merits or demerits of the political machinery of any of the States in this paper; much less is it our purpose to discourse upon the charges and counter charges of fraud so strenuously

urged by both parties. Our purpose now is to examine the issues of the late contest in the light of sound constitutional maxims, and out of the mass of rubbish which tended to obscure the main question eliminate the true principles of our political system.

We have seen with much surprise the right of a State to make such rules and regulations as she may deem proper for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the people in regard to any public question called into question. The Governor of a great State, in a digression in his annual message to the Legislature, is reported to have used the following language: "I pause here in this statement to interpose in behalf of the people of this great Commonwealth a sole denial of the power of any State government of the Federal Government to vest such powers as are claimed by the Louisiana returning board in any canvassing board whatever." It is charitable to suppose that in giving utterance to these words Governor Robinson lost sight, at least for the moment, of the great principle of our political system, that each State is sovereign in regard to its internal affairs, and that Louisiana would have the same right to deny the people of New York the power to elect him their Governor as he has to deny the right of the people of Louisiana to vest their powers wheresoever and in whomsoever they may see proper. Under our system of government not only may the people of Louisiana and of every other State in this Union vest in a canvassing board the power of rejecting votes they deem to be illegal, but they may vest in the canvassing board or in the executive the choice of any officer they please. In regard to the electoral colleges we affirm that under our Constitution it is perfectly competent for the people of any State to vest the power choosing Presidential electors either in the Legislature or in a returning board, or in the Governor alone. They may, if they see proper, vest that power partly in themselves, partly in a returning board, and partly in the Governor, and there is nowhere in this Government any legal power to restrict or deny the right of such action. On this point the Constitution is so explicit that we cannot have a shadow of a

doubt. It declares that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives it may be entitled to in Congress. No form of choice is prescribed. They may be elected by the people; they may be appointed by the Governor, with or without the advice and consent of the Senate, or in any manner whatsoever. It may be asked, Can electors be appointed in any State contrary to the will of the people of that State? We answer, Yes. Let us illustrate: Suppose the Legislature of New York had provided for the appointment of Presidential electors by the Legislature. Now, in the last election, Mr. Tilden carried that State by something like thirty thousand majority; but the Legislature is Republican, and in the case supposed the electoral vote of that State would undoubtedly have been given to Mr. Hayes, the Republican candidate, and this would not only be legal, but would be in full harmony with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. The announcement may seem strange and novel to some, but it is nevertheless true, that it was never intended that the President should be elected by the people, but it was intended that he should be elected by the States. Hence, in the only case where Congress is called upon to interfere or take part in the election of President—in the event of a failure to elect on the part of the electors chosen by the States—the House of Representatives is required to vote by States for President; thus indicating clearly that in the

election of President they are called upon to act not as representatives of the people, but as representatives of the States. It follows, therefore, that in the election of the President the States act in their independent capacity, and that their actions in this regard are beyond the review or control of every other department of this Government. We believe that every student of the Constitution will agree that these principles are the legitimate inferences from that instrument. Now, we have only to apply these principles to the three so-called disputed States, and the validity of their action becomes clear. The Legislatures of these States directed that those should be Presidential electors whom the board of canvassers should declare the free and untrammeled choice of the popular will of their respective States. It results that those, and none others, were Presidential electors who held the evidence of their appointment in the form of certificates from the board of canvassers. Action upon any other theory would completely derange our complex system, and utterly subvert the long-accepted theory of our institutions.

We hold, therefore, that the late Electoral Commission acted upon the only constitutional method of procedure when it recognized only those as electors who held certificates as such from those designated by law to declare the result of the election, and in its declaration that *any inquiry into the legality of the action of the persons designated must of right belong to the States themselves.*

#### FATHER BOYLE AND SECRETARY THOMPSON.

Father Boyle seems to be very much moved that our honorable Secretary of the Navy should write a book about the "Papacy," and make a mistake in regard to his holiness, the pious Pope Innocent XI.

But the mistake, if it is one, was very natural under the circumstances. Following Berg's translation of parts of that horrible Romish book, "Peter Dens' Theology," and most likely not having the bull of Innocent before him, he read the Latin from Dens as

though it ascribed the sentiment in question to Innocent, whereas the history of our time requires that we should give another application to the Latin phrase, "*Probatur etiam ex damnatione hujus prop. 36* (26 it should be) *Innoc. XI.*"

Such a sentence is clearly capable of two constructions, either of which on its face might be very naturally adopted; especially in view of Berg's English of the sentence, which is "It is proved also by the condemna-

tion of this 26th proposition of Innocent XI."

Now, we may say either that Innocent laid down the proposition which was condemned, or that it was Innocent's condemnation of the said proposition, for the words of themselves, taken both in Latin and in English, are capable of either construction, and the proposition in the bull is numbered the 26th, thus far making it the work legitimately ascribed to Innocent. In other words, there were scandalous doctrines prevalent in his day, which he undertook by his bull to suppress. There is quite a long list of them in the bull, (if we remember correctly some forty, more or less,) and this proposition about mental reservation, prevarication, and lying is put in the series as proposition 26.

Where there is so much that is reprehensible—so much to wound and shock the moral sensibilities of mankind—in the doctrine and history of the Romish Church, it is not worth while for any Romish priest in our day, and right here under the nose of this Government, to go taking on airs, and professing to be greatly scandalized and injured in his feelings by a simple natural construction like that.

He will not dispute the fact of the prevalence of the obnoxious sentiment more or less in the Romish Church; and what great difference could it make in the long run whether it were one Pope more or less who did approve of it! Admitting that Innocent condemned the proposition, might not an author be *innocently* misled by an ambiguous Latin sentence like that above without disqualifying him as a witness or rendering him incompetent to appear in the court of public opinion? Peter Dens himself goes on to teach that it is proper, for just reasons, to use equivocation, which may be done by employing language having two senses or meanings, of which he gives the following Latin specimen: "*Dico latronem Petrum occidisse;*" which may mean, "I say, a robber killed Peter," or "I say, Peter killed a robber;" and the doctrine of Dens is, that there is no lie in an equivocation of this kind; and if this be so, according to this great Romish authority, then those who select one of the senses or meanings of an ambiguous phrase or sentence cannot be held guilty of the violation of any law of right or conscience, provided he has in what he asserts an honest purpose and a sincere desire to tell the truth.

### DECORATION DAY AT BALL'S BLUFF.

Balls Bluff, Virginia, is situated on the Potomac, about forty miles above Washington. It is memorable as the spot where Baker and his brave men were slaughtered in the early days of the rebellion. The decoration ceremonies on the 30th of May, were impressive and deeply interesting. The following oration was delivered by Hon. Alonzo Bell, Assistant Secretary of the Interior:

I deem it a high privilege to again stand upon the sacred soil of Ball's Bluff; historic in its memories, and hallowed by its associations, to scatter flowers over the graves of those who fell with the gallant Baker, in the desperate and unequal struggle of October, 1861.

The year that has passed since last we met has been one of the most eventful in our history. The nations of the world have gathered upon our shores to help us

celebrate in the city which gave it birth, the first century of our national life. Who that visited the Centennial can ever forget that magnificent display of the world's offerings, the result of ripened industry, the achievement of advanced art and science, the product of a generous peaceful rivalry, such as the world never before witnessed? And who can forget the feelings of profound satisfaction which took possession of the heart as day after day revealed in that wonderful collection the greatness, the grandeur, the skill, the boundless wealth, the masterly and matchless genius of our own beloved land? For one, I felt like lifting up my voice in glad song, that America was my home, and in heartfelt thanks that the God of battles had preserved it in war, and permitted us as a nation, one and inseparable, to celebrate the close of its first century in a manner becoming a christian people and a free Republic.

If the tens of thousands who died upon

the battle field, in defence of the Union, could have looked upon that scene they would have felt that their sacrifices had not been altogether in vain. They would have seen the value of the nation they saved and would have known what a priceless gift they purchased by their suffering and blood.

And if those who fought and fell in a mistaken cause, displaying a courage which must ever challenge the admiration of brave men, and a valor that we would not disown, could have gazed upon that glorious gathering of the nations who came to pay homage and tribute to the young Republic, whose fame to-day like the sunlight girdles the earth, they too would have shared in the common pride and forgotten the bitter regrets which followed the extinction of their hopes and the loss of a cause for which they gladly died.

In strewing these graves with flowers we but give expression to our love and respect for those who died that the Republic might live. In honoring the men we but honor the cause, and the tribute we pay is simply to show that gratitude is not yet dead, but that we who live to enjoy the priceless blessings of freedom owe a debt that can never be paid to the memory of those who fill a soldier's grave.

This spot is too sacred for exultation over the misfortunes of others, or for rejoicing over victories that carried pangs of sorrow to the homes of the North and the South. We have entered this enclosure, where sleep the honored dead, in the language of the immortal Lincoln, "with malice toward none with charity for all," to reconsecrate ourselves in the presence of an unseen band of patriots to the work of restoring that which has been broken, to the binding up of wounds that are not yet healed, to the elevation of a race still in ignorance, to the promotion of a common prosperity, and a common glory, and to the return of good will, of unity and harmony and that brotherly love on which alone can rest the beautiful temple of perfect peace.

For all the signs of promise that lead to this, whether they come from the North or the South the East or the West, from the hearts of the people, the lips of our Statesmen, or from the acts of our President, let us be devoutly thankful.

We are but one nation and should be but one people, having a single aspiration for the public good, each section and state animated—not by jealousy, envy, or hatred, but by a feeling of generous rivalry to excel one another in prosperity and to work as one in the building up of

a nation whose power and glory are to cover a continent and secure recognition throughout the civilized world.

Nor have we come here to revive memories which should rest in their graves. We have come to look into the future and not into the past, to contemplate those blessings which are in store for us, if we but do our duty as well as did the brave men who sleep beneath our feet.

Their work is over! Ours is but just commenced! They but laid the foundation on which we are to build. The structure cannot be completed by us, but we can raise its walls higher and higher each day so that the work of posterity will be lighter because of our labors. A generation will not see the temple of American civilization completed, nor will a century. It will go on toward completion, age after age, until the cap stone which shall round out the finished edifice shall be laid by the hand of God himself, in that far distant future when human and divine justice shall be blended in our laws, and selfishness and wickedness shall be known no more as elements of power among the governments of the earth.

We all have something to do toward the hastening of this better time. Every man, woman, and child, has a mission to perform. The man by his example, the woman by her influence, the child through its education, are the insensible contributors to the coming of this social and political millennium which has been foreshadowed by prophecy and whose early dawn, we fondly hope, is already breaking over our beloved country.

Let each of us do our best in our respective fields of labor. All cannot be leaders and march in the van of civilization, but all can render good service in the army of progress. The soldier in the ranks may be as necessary as the general who plans the campaign, and leads the army to victory, for oftentimes in the hour of greatest peril, out of the ranks steps some unknown genius whose word or deed rescues an imperilled cause from the jaws of defeat.

At the battle of Austerlitz, it is related, that the French army was on the verge of defeat, and Napoleon was praying for darkness to come to cover his apparently inevitable retreat. All day long his soldiers had withstood overwhelming odds, but the end of their endurance was nigh at hand.

Baffled and desperate he rode along the line of the old guard, when a soldier sprang from the ranks and saluting his Majesty, said in tones of authority: "the day is not yet lost! a battery there, and

the old guard on the centre and the day is ours!" "Back to the ranks, who made you master of my secrets?" was the only recognition of a service that saved the French army from overwhelming defeat.

The quick eye of Napoleon saw in an instant the revealed key of the position. A battery was sent to the point indicated, the Austrian centre melted like frost-work before a consuming fire as the Old Guard was hurled against it like an avenging thunder bolt, and in less than an hour the sun of Austerlitz went down on one of the grandest victories that ever crowned the eagles of France.

But the soldier to whom France gave the glory was not the one who had earned it. He had fallen in the desperate charge, unconscious of the great work he had performed, and with the rebuke of his master still ringing in his ear. As the Emperor bent over his dead body he placed upon his breast the cross of the legion of honor, "It is too late," said he, "to reward this noble fellow, but he was the peer of the bravest. To him I owe this victory; had he lived, I should have made him a Marshall of France." Thus in the ranks of the nation the humblest citizen may by his advice or example exercise an influence potential and boundless in its character. It may not be your lot, or mine, to point out the path of victory as did the young soldier at Austerlitz, but it is within our power to set an example that will be transmitted from neighbor to neighbor until our silent influence, like the ripple which follows the pebble dropped into the sea, shall be felt through succeeding generations to the remotest bounds of civilization.

Are you a mechanic? Your trade is your empire over which you should act as a ruler. To excel in your work to do, what is given you to do, earnestly, honestly and well, is to fill the measure of your manhood in the field in which you act.

Are you a farmer? Your farm should bear the evidence of your industry and skill. To seek to secure from nature the wealth that nature is ready to yield to those who earnestly seek it, should be to you a duty. A good farm bespeaks a good farmer, and where either are found their good influence is not confined to the acres they represent, but will be felt in time over the whole section in which they are found.

Are you a tradesman, a teacher, a professor, a worker and toiler, in any honorable field? Your duty is as imperative and your mission as noble as if your reputation was world wide. You are to do the best you can with the means at your

disposal. Let the impress of your good character be stamped upon your home, your workshop, your store, your field of labor, and upon the community in which you reside. Write over the threshold of your door the golden sentence that flashed from the colors of Havelock, "Duties belong to men consequences to God." If we could but act as unselfishly and as heroically as did the brave men who faced death on this terrible field we should win for ourselves in peace a fame as undying as theirs. No trumpet tongue proclaims their names to the world, but they are known by the results of their labor. They may fill an unknown grave or be enrolled among the missing, but the nation they saved will stand as the eternal monument to their memory, more enduring than New England Granite, bearing evidence to the ages yet unborn, of their sterling virtue and patriotism.

As citizens of a great State, with almost boundless possibilities in store for it, I call upon you and through you upon the tens of thousands who are not here to-day, to lay aside the prejudices of the past and go to work in earnest to develop the resources of a State that from its central position, its wealth of soil and mines, its broad safe harbors and extensive coast, should make it to-day the Empire State of the Union.

Turn your backs upon the past and shut out all but its golden memories, and as you face the future, resolve that you will do all that men and women can do to build up the prosperity of Virginia, and to place her where she properly belongs in the van of her sister States. You have thousands of acres yet untilled. You have mountains of iron and coal that could supply the wants of the nation that remain untouched for want of energy and capital to work them. You have water-power to run the mills of the country yet it runs to waste and empties its hidden fortunes into the sea without effort to save them. You have a harbor in which the commerce of the world might ride at anchor, yet its waters are hardly disturbed by the ships of our own or other nations. You have valleys, like the Loudon and the Shenandoah, that could be made to bloom like the Garden of Eden, yet your crops fall far short of the reward which your toil should bring, and thousands of acres are still strangers to the plough and the spade.

Do you seek to change this, to infuse new life into your State, to keep pace with the growth of the nation, and to recover the prestige of leadership in wealth, intelligence and all the elements of state power?

If you do, you must open your arms in hearty welcome to those who have the muscle, and the money, and the talent, and the spirit of enterprise to help in the work of recovery and to people the waste lands of the State. Come from the North or the South, from the East or the West, irrespective of their religion or polities, they should be alike welcome and be made to feel that they are brethren among brethren; entitled to as much respect, as much honor, as much credit, as if their eyes had first opened on Virginia soil. The cry of carpet-bagger has done more to injure the South than an invading army. It has cost it more than a hundred millions. Brave men who would face a blazing battery without flinching, have shrunk from the stigma as from a plague. It should be silenced forever. Send forth your cordial invitations to the crowded North, place before those who are seeking new homes the advantages you possess, and the tide of immigration that flows toward the far West will drop many a germ of wealth within your borders, and contribute the men and the money and the intelligence and the public spirit, on which a State must found its claims for leadership.

Standing upon this desolate spot, made more desolate by the tragedy of other years, I see the future of Virginia under this policy of cordial welcome rising before me like a pleasing picture sketched by a master hand. It is not the picture of a State desolated by war, with smouldering ruins to mark the track of armies, with fields barren, and homes darkened by sorrow, but the picture of a great commonwealth

growing yearly under the inspiration of peaceful industry, I see its harbors whirled by the sails of commerce; its coast dotted with prosperous cities; its mountains girdled with furnaces and mills; its rivers and streams lined with factories making music to the sound of the spindle and the loom; its valleys blooming like a rose, and vocal with the echoes of the rushing trains bearing to the seaboard the fruits and products of its skill and industry; I see schools and churches and colleges keeping pace with the growth of the State, and generations growing up to honor by their virtues and learning the nation which governs all.

This is the picture that rises before me. It is not overdrawn, for the possibility of surpassing it is with you and with all who dwell within the State of Virginia. In the name of the dead heroes whose memory we cherish, and for the sake of the Republic whose glory we share I call upon you as the friends of law and order, as the promoters of public virtue and the defenders of liberty and justice, to so live and act that the Old Dominion may honor your names long after you have departed, and that generations yet unborn may scatter flowers over your graves and say, as we have said over these dead heroes of "Ball's Bluff;" the State, and the Nation, and the whole world, are indebted to these men for an example that will outlive the monuments of brass or marble, and survive through all time as the precious legacy of patriots who served their country while living, and by their death made its virtues and its liberties imperishable."

### THE NEW JERSEY "GREAT SEAL" CASE.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, October 9 and 10, 1838, an election was held in the State of New Jersey for members of the House of the 26th Congress. The Hon. William Pennington, a Whig, was Governor of the State. The Whig candidates for Congress were: Messrs. J. F. Randolph, C. C. Stratton, J. P. B. Maxwell, W. Halstead, T. J. Yorke and J. B. Ayerrigg. The Democratic candidates were: P. D. Vroom, P. Dickerson, W. R. Cooper, J. Kille, D. B. Ryall, and Manning Force. At that time, in New Jersey, members of Congress were elected on general ticket, and the election, by law, extended through two days.

6R3

The election was stoutly contested by both parties. By the first reports from the different polling places, all the Whigs were elected. The New York correspondent of the Washington *National Intelligencer* claimed 1,000 majority for the Whig ticket; the New York *Courier* and *Inquirer*, (Webb's paper,) the New York *Star*, (Noah's) and other Whig organs claimed 900—all on the 11th of October; but on the 13th additional and fuller returns rendered the "Whig victory" doubtful. An "unexpectedly large" Democratic majority in Sussex county changed the whole face of matters. Both parties now claimed the victory: the Democrats the election of all

their ticket but Mr. Force—they conceded the election of Mr. Randolph; but the Whigs claimed the victory for all their candidates, and resorted to rather summary measures to defeat what they denounced as Democratic frauds—the illegal voting of men, principally foreigners or aliens, not entitled to the franchise.

By the laws of New Jersey, the judges and inspectors of elections, with the clerk, of each township, were commanded, after the poll had closed, "to proceed without delay to take an account of and cast up the votes given in for each candidate for Congress, and to make separate lists of the same;" which "lists" they were required "to sign, seal up, direct and transmit and deliver" to the clerk of the county "before 5 o'clock of the Saturday succeeding the election." It was made the duty of said county clerk to attend at that day and hour at the court house of the county, for the purpose of receiving the lists of votes transmitted and delivered by the township judges and inspectors, and to make up from those lists one general return of all the candidates voted for at the township elections, and of all the votes cast for each of them, and to transmit the same to the Governor within seven days thereafter.

Hence, in Cumberland county, the Whig clerk of the county (Joseph Fithian) resorted to the extraordinary expedient of rejecting the vote of the Millville township; and in Middlesex county, the Whig clerk (Nicholas Boeraem) rejected that of South Amboy, on the ground that the returns were "informal"—that they had not been rendered "pursuant to law."

These were proceedings of doubtful validity—a flank movement of the Whigs to neutralize what they called the Democratic frauds at the polls, and to secure a victory they honestly believed they had won. It did not succeed. They secured the returns to the Governor of a certified majority of votes in favor of all their candidates. But the "Great Unterrified" were not so easily baffled. "The illustrious Tribunes of the People," "the Gallant Champions of Popular Rights," (at that time the Democracy were the Radicals of the nation,) en-

terprising and bold, unscrupulous and aggressive, in their partisan warfare, determined to resist this action of the Cumberland and Middlesex county "despots"—to defeat the consummation of their purpose. As in the notorious "Buckshot War," at Harrisburg, so in this, they finally succeeded.

Under the laws of New Jersey, the Governor and his Privy Council constituted a "Returning Board" for the State. A majority of these were Whigs. Accordingly, on the day fixed by law, these met to receive the returns or lists of the county clerks, to cast up and make one general return of all the votes thus certified, and to commission the candidates having a majority. Their sessions were secret: nevertheless, the irrepressible and untutored champions of popular suffrage—the "Democracy of numbers"—demanded and secured, by memorial, a hearing before them. General Wall, originally a Federalist, one of the ancient "blue light fraternity" abhorred by the Democracy, but at the time the Democratic representative from New Jersey in the United States Senate, was admitted to their sessions as "a privilege," not as "a right," to represent the Democracy; and in their name he demanded that the votes of Millville and South Amboy be counted. He reviewed the law and the facts. He charged that the clerks of Middlesex and Cumberland had, "by mistake, omission or fraud," suppressed in their general lists "a part of their respective counties," and denied their legal right or power to exclude the votes of Millville and South Amboy. He urged that the clerks had no discretion, no judgment, in the matter. Upon them the law was mandatory. Their functions were simply ministerial; they had no judicial power. The county clerk had no "authority to judge of the validity, formality, or regularity of the township lists"—"to go behind the returns of the township officers." He had no "power to examine, hear, try, or determine the validity of elections," to pass upon the "appointment, qualifications or conduct of township officers," or upon "the formality of township lists." All such

authority was denied him by law. He was "the mere conduit pipe to transmit the township votes to the Governor"—"the mere organ of transmission"—simply a "ministerial officer," with no judicial or discretionary functions or powers.

These positions Gen. Wall elaborates at great length. In the county clerks of Middlesex and Cumberland he sees only a brace of petty local "tyrants," and denounces their acts as "atrocious usurpations"—the power they usurped as a despotic one. He says: "It is a usurped power in face of the law; it is a despotic power; and imitating the well-known example of an ancient tyrant, who hung his laws on pillars so high that they could not be read, he (the clerk of Middlesex) has gone still higher, and placed his in the clouds. His whole conduct bears upon its face the odious impress of despotism—leaving everything vague, ambiguous, and uncertain." He urges, again and again, that "the purity of the elective franchise is the life blood of Republicanism—the well-spring of our liberties; and its corruption would affect our whole political system;" that "the lessons of history would be lost upon us if we did not guard the right of suffrage as the citadel of our freedom—the ark of our safety;" that "we would be traitors to our revolutionary sires, and aliens to the blood of our English ancestors, if we suffered it to be touched by profane or usurping hands." He accordingly appeals to the Governor and Council, as the "Returning Board" of the State, to defeat the fraud attempted by the "daring acts" of the clerks of Middlesex and Cumberland. He declares that they have the power, and demands that they assume the responsibility. He contends that, as a canvassing board, the powers and functions of the Governor and Council are *quasi judicial*, and not merely ministerial—that the general power to "determine" who have been elected, "*ex vitermini*" clothes the body upon whom it is conferred, by the clearest principles of common law, with judicial power: to hear, try, and ascertain all matters necessary to its proper exercise and execution." Hence,

that it was clearly and indisputably their right, and under the circumstances their solemn duty, as a means of defeating the "contemplated fraud," to canvass the acts of the county clerks—to go behind the county returns, and count the votes of Millville and South Amboy: in other words to exercise, if not usurp, extraordinary and doubtful powers, as a means of consummating the very crime he pretended to denounce—"the corruption of the ballot-box," the profanation of "the citadel of our freedom—the ark of our safety," by counting in the Democratic candidates—by canvassing the votes of men, aliens and others, not entitled to the franchise under the laws of New Jersey.

In conclusion he declares; "I confess that I tremble at the consequences which must flow from your decision. If it sustains the acts of these clerks it will furnish a precedent for the most alarming and dangerous attacks upon the dearest rights of freemen." \* \* \* \* \*

"If the voice of the people speaking through the ballot boxes, if the will of the majority, thus declared, can be openly set at defiance or frustrated—if a clerk of a county, by his mere act, can convert a minority into a majority, miserable, indeed is the boasted freedom of Jerseymen. Possessing the forms of Republican institutions, they are slaves, despicable slaves"—"the slaves of usurpers."\*

\* These are brave words: if a "minority" can be converted into a "majority," "miserable" indeed is our "boasted freedom;" "possessing the forms of Republican institutions," we are "slaves"—"despicable slaves"—"the slaves of usurpers!" That was the Democratic sentiment in 1838, and previously—the doctrine of the Radical Democracy under Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren. What is the so-called Democratic doctrine of today? What was their attitude before the electoral Commission? What before the Louisiana Returning Board in 1876? In 1838, in New Jersey, under the general clauses of the law empowering the Governor and his Privy Council to "determine" who were elected, General Wall and the Democracy demanded that the Governor and Council should go behind the county returns, as a means of correcting fraud—of righting what they claimed as the majority of the State; but in Louisiana, before its Returning Board, created and expressly empowered by law to revise the parish returns, and to purge them of fraud, the Democracy resisted the exercise of those powers by the Board; they denounced its action in purging the returns of frauds perpetrated by a sanguinary minority.

These positions were also maintained by the whole Democracy throughout the State and nation. They had secured a nominal majority for five of their candidates, upon the face of the township returns, by "the illegal and fraudulent" votes of men not entitled to the franchise under the laws of New Jersey, and they demanded that the Governor and Privy Council reverse the acts of the county clerks who had "eliminated" from their returns the votes of the townships where the frauds were declared notorious; that the Governor and Privy Council should consummate the frauds perpetrated by the Democracy at the polls, should unite in the perpetration of the crimes so indignantly denounced by General Wall—the pollution of "the ballot-box, the palladium of our liberties."

But Governor Pennington and a majority of the Privy Council declined to unite in any such action—in such a manifest usurpation of powers. In their opinion the laws of New Jersey were clear and imperative. Their duties were simply and wholly ministerial: they had no judicial functions or powers. In determining the six persons who had been elected members of the House, they were confined to the lists of votes furnished by the county clerks: they could be governed by no other

amid murder and outrage—in vindicating the rights of the majority. And so before the Electoral Commission: they labored by every expedient and device, to "convert a minority into a majority"—to foist upon the nation a candidate inimical to the majority—to play the role they denounced in 1838 as "despotic" and "tyrannical"—the role of "usurpers!"

Under Jefferson and Jackson, "the party" was "the Democracy of numbers," as opposed to the influence or power of wealth and rank: it was the supporter of the people—its leaders the Radical champions of the masses, of the lowly and poor, against the "silk stocking gentry"—the aristocracy—who they denounced as opposed to the liberties and rights of the majority. Hence, while opposing all restrictions on the suffrage, the cardinal or fundamental doctrine of their creed was, the greatest number, the majority, of all the voters shall rule. All ranks, classes, conditions, and nationalities were comprehended in their notions of the people: all were equal politically in their creed—none were too lowly or poor not to be entitled to citizenship—all were equally entitled to the suffrage. The largest number of these were sovereign and constituted the State. To suppress a majority of these, whether legally voters or not, under the laws of the States, was treason to liberty, treason to the constitution and the equal rights it guarantees—was to preserve "the forms of Republican institutions," while

evidence. Governor Pennington, in his address to the Council, says, after quoting the law: "No language can be plainer. Was it ever intended by our laws to make the Governor and his Privy Council the arbiters of an election? There is no power conferred upon us to examine a single witness, to send for persons and papers, or to take one step towards a judicial investigation. If we may go behind the returns of the county clerks to those of the township officers, why should we stop there?" Their plain and simple duty, their only duty, was to "cast up the votes" certified in the lists of the county clerks of all the counties of the State, and from them to determine and declare the six persons who had received the greatest number of votes. "The clerks' returns were the only basis of action allowed them by law." They could not go behind them, nor review the acts of the county clerks or township officers. Their duties were plain, the law mandatory, and they were solemnly sworn to perform their duties under the law.

The Governor and Privy Council accordingly "cast up the votes" certified to them by the clerks of all the counties of the State, by which all the Whig candidates had "the greatest number of votes," and they were commissioned by the Gov-

reducing the people to "slaves"—"despicable slaves"—"slaves of usurpers!" All laws and forms of law might perish, but not the majority: it was sovereign and omnipotent."

In the "Buckshot War," in the New Jersey "Great Seal" contest, and in the Dorr Rebellion, those were the doctrines maintained by the Democracy—the Radical Democracy of Jackson, following the teachings of Jefferson. But what was their doctrine in the late Presidential campaign? What before the late Electoral Commission? Was it not, the minority shall rule?—a race minority of rank and wealth? Is it not upon that fundamental doctrine that they now hold "a solid South"—upon which the representation of the incoming House will be based? Did they not in the late Presidential campaign, as in previous campaigns, through an appalling conspiracy of violence and outrage—of massacre, assassination and crime of every character and degree, in the South, suppress the voice of the majority—"convert a minority into a majority," and while preserving "the forms of Republican institutions," reduce their people, the majority, to "slaves"—"despicable slaves"—"the slaves of usurpers?" No longer the "Democracy of numbers"—no longer the popular champions of human rights—no longer the Democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, but that of Calhoun and Taney, they now figure in their own choice language as "despots," "tyrants," and "usurpers!"

ernor, under "the Great Seal" of the State, as the six members duly elected from New Jersey to the House of the 26th Congress.

The Democracy were furious—their anthems loud and heavy. The Democratic minority of the council, in a paper prepared by Gen. Wall, protested, and denounced the Governor and majority as *particeps criminis* in the villainy of the county clerks. The excitement was immense. It extended into all the States, and the Democracy in all indulged in the vilest charges—"usurpation," "outrage," and "fraud"—against all who had opposed them. Gov. Pennington was a "conspirator" against the liberties and the free institutions of his country—a "traitor," "despot," "tyrant," "usurper"—one who

"Held councils in the dark,  
With common ruffians, leagued to ruin States."  
All Whigs were "frauds," "Federalists," "monarchists," all were opposed to "popular rights;" and, by "conspiracy," "fraud," and "tyrannical usurpation" in New Jersey, they had "resisted the will, the authority, of the people," had trampled the elective franchise under their feet, and robbed the masses of their suffrages.

The active theatre of the war was next necessarily transferred to Washington. There the Twenty-Sixth Congress assembled on Monday, December 2, 1839. The six Whigs from New Jersey, with the certificates of the Governor bearing the Great Seal of the State, attesting their election as members of the House, were present. The five Democratic contestants also attended. They, too, bore the "broad seal" of the State, attached to a statement by the New Jersey Secretary of State, (James D. Westcott, a Democrat,) certifying that at the election, in New Jersey, in October, 1838, the five Democratic candidates (Messrs. Dickerson, Vroom, Ryall, Cooper and Kille,) had, including the votes of South Amboy and Millville, received an average majority of 71 votes in the State, and were further fortified in their claims by copies of the returns by the judges and inspectors of election for the above townships, certified

by the county clerks of Cumberland and Middlesex as to the fact of their being on file in their respective offices, but endorsed as "not pursuant to law." These they claimed as evidences of their election. They accordingly demanded the rejection of the Whig claimants, whose commissions they denounced as only obtained by fraud, and claimed their own admission to seats, and to a participation in the proceedings preliminary to an organization, as the *bona fide* representatives of the people of New Jersey.

Among the members of the House were some of the ablest and most distinguished men of both parties. Among the Whigs were: John Q. Adams, Daniel B. Barnard, of N. Y.; John Bell, Tenn.; John M. Botts, of Va.; Tom Corwin, of Ohio; Caleb Cushing, of Mass.; Garrett Davis, of Ky.; Geo. Evans, of Me.; Millard Fillmore, of New York; Rice Garland, of La.; Meredith P. Gentry, of Tenn.; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio; Wm. L. Goggin, of Va.; Frank Granger, of New York; Ogden Hoffman, of New York, Wm. Cost Johnson, of Md.; Chas. Fenton Mercer, of Va.; Kenneth Raynor, of N. C.; John Sergeant, of Pa.; Truman Smith, of Ct.; Edward Stanly, of N. C.; Joseph R. Underwood, of Ky., and Henry A. Wise, of Va. Among the Democracy: *Nathan Clifford*, of Me.; Chas. G. Atherton, of N. H.; Linn Boyd, of Ky.; A. V. Brown, of Tenn.; A. G. Brown, of Miss.; Edmund Burke, of N. H.; John Campbell, of S. C.; John W. Davis, of Ind.; George Dromgoole, of Va.; Dr. Alex. Duncan, of Ohio; Isaac E. Holmes, of S. C.; R. M. T. Hunter, of Va., Cave Johnson, of Tenn.; Dixon H. Lewis, of Ala.; James McKay, of N. C.; Wm. Medill, of Ohio; Francis W. Pickins, of S. C.; John Pope, of Ky.; R. Barnwell Rhett, of S. C.; Francis E. Rives, of Va.; the Thomases, of Md.; Jacob Thompson, of Miss.; Hopkins L. Turney, of Tenn.; Aaron Vanderpoel, of N. Y.; H. M. Watterson, of Tenn.; John B. Weller, of Ohio, and Sherrod Williams, of Ky.

For months previous to their meeting, the Democratic press, even the national

organ at Washington, the *Globe*, had teamed with the harshest denunciations of the Whig members, and of the Governor and Privy Council of New Jersey. At Harrisburg, in December, 1838—in the notorious "Buckshot War,"—the "Great Unterrified," in a similar contest for the organization of the lower branch of the Pennsylvania legislature—to force the admission before organization, and as a means of securing the organization, of the Democratic contestants from Philadelphia county—had, through "an armed mob of infuriated ruffians" from Philadelphia and adjacent counties, disciplined to violence and rallying under the cries of "Give us our rights," or "Blood, blood, blood," expelled both houses of the legislature, forcing their members, to save their lives, to escape rather promiscuously and suddenly through the windows of their halls, had riotously established themselves on the floors of the two houses, and had triumphed in the organization of the lower branch, amid tumult and violence, by trampling under their feet the Constitution and the laws of the State.\* That victory had greatly emboldened the Democracy. They now threatened similar tactics at the organization of the House of the 26th Congress, if an attempt was made to seat the New Jersey Whig members, and the members of the House met amid mutterings and threats of vengeance from the Democratic press.

The excitement was intense. "The Clerk of the late House" (Hugh Alfred Garland) entered on the call of the roll of members, beginning with Maine, and having called as far as New Jersey, and the name of Joseph F. Randolph, (the only member from New Jersey whose seat was undisputed,) he rose and stated that five seats from New Jersey were contested; that it was not for him to decide to whom those seats belonged; and that, if it was the pleasure of the House, he would pass by the further call from New Jersey and complete the call of the roll, when he would submit documents and evidence in

his possession to the House which alone was capable of deciding upon them.

Subsequently, from a paper which the Clerk attempted to read in defence of his conduct, but was refused permission by the House, and which was read, in the face of much opposition, by Nathan Clifford, as a part of a speech in support of the Clerk's course, and of the admission of the Democratic contestants from New Jersey, it appears that the Clerk had intended a like course in reference to the Whig member from the third Congressional District of Pennsylvania. It is a characteristic paper. A brief analysis of some of its statements and positions will enable us to appreciate Nathan Clifford's notions of "conscious rectitude," "manly independence," and an argument "convincing and unanswerable." The clerk adopts the Democratic statement, and ignores the Whig showing of Democratic fraud. In New Jersey the vote of South Amboy (340 votes, with a Democratic majority of 252) and Millville (306 votes, with a Democratic majority of 106,) an aggregate vote of 646 in the two townships, had been "eliminated" by the Whig county clerks as a means (as it was charged) of destroying an average Democratic majority of 71 in the State, and securing to the Whig candidates to Congress the certificate of election; but in Pennsylvania, in the third Congressional District, three of the six judges of election constituting the Returning Board of the district—the three Democratic judges—had "eliminated" 5,294 votes, and notoriously as a means of destroying a Whig majority of 775 in the district. They subsequently gave to Charles J. Ingersoll, the Democratic candidate, a statement of their mutilated return, by which he had a majority of 561 votes. Appended to that document was a note, dated November 8, 1838, and addressed to the House, from F. R. Shunk, the Democratic Secretary of the Commonwealth, declaring that at the election in the third Congressional District (on October 9, 1838) "Charles J. Ingersoll was duly elected to represent the said district in the 26th Congress." A year later, November 25, 1839,

\* See sketch of "Buckshot War" in April number of *Republic*.

David R. Porter, a Democrat, who had succeeded Joseph Ritner, a Whig, as Governor, added his proclamation to the note of Shunk, declaring Ingersoll's election, and gave to Ingersoll a certificate of election. The three Whig judges, in obedience to the laws of the State, had made a "true return" of all the votes actually cast in the district, by which Mr. Naylor, the Whig candidate, had a majority of 775 votes, and had transmitted it, through the proper channel, to Harrisburg, where it was received, and upon which Gov. Ritner had given the certificate of election to Mr. Charles Naylor.

All these documents, and the facts in the case, were in the possession of acting Clerk Garland. Nevertheless, with a "conscious rectitude" and "manly independence" which fairly extorted the applause of Nathan Clifford—with a characteristic indifference, indeed, to the utter inconsistency of his action, and the equities of the two cases,\* even upon the Democratic statement—"the Clerk of the late House," "believing" both to be cases of "doubtful returns," which it was not his "province to determine," had resolved to refuse to

call the names of any of the claimants until the House had passed on their respective titles to the disputed seats; a matter practically impossible prior to organization. It was a "parlous plot." Acting Clerk Garland, "the Clerk of the late House," was a candidate for re-election. Every Whig vote "eliminated" from those who would unite in the organization, in the election of officers, would increase his chances of re-election, and his manoeuvres to that end, in the proposed disfranchisement of New Jersey and the third Congressional District of Pennsylvania, brought into striking relief that "conscious rectitude," that "manly independence," so warmly applauded by Justice Clifford. But

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men,  
Gang aft a-gley!"

Acting Clerk Garland's was threatened with miscarriage. William Cost Johnson's prompt objection to his proposition when calling the roll, as above, called a halt in his programme. But it precipitated the House into utter confusion. Demands were made for the reading of the credentials of the Whig and Democratic claimants, and for the reading of the election laws of New Jersey. Amid all the confusion

\* If the "daring acts" of the Middlesex and Cumberland county clerks, in suppressing in their returns to the Governor of New Jersey the votes of the petty townships of South Amboy and Millville—616 votes in all—were frauds upon the ballot box—were outrages upon the voters of New Jersey—was not the more "daring act" of the Democratic Judges of the Returning Board of the third Congressional District of Pennsylvania, in suppressing 5,294 votes, the votes of all the Northern Liberties, one-half of all the voters of the District, a greater fraud upon the ballot box—a greater outrage upon the voters of that District? In the New Jersey case, the county clerks, following Democratic precedent in similar cases, rejected only the returns of the townships in which fraud was manifest, if not notorious, and the returns of which had not been endorsed pursuant to law; but in the Pennsylvania case, the Democratic Judges suppressed the votes of all the Seven Wards of the incorporated Northern Liberties, because of a default or crime in one of the Wards—the Seventh—a Democratic Ward. A Democratic clerk of that Ward alleged, before the Returning Board of the District, and evidently by prearrangement with its Democratic Judges, and with the Democratic candidate for Congress, that the poll-list of his precinct, the one not placed in the ballot-box, had disappeared: he charged that it had been stolen. Whereupon, at the demand of Mr. Ingersoll, the Democratic Judges suppressed, not the vote of the Seventh Ward, in which the default had occurred, because, being Democratic, the sup-

pression of its votes would only increase the Whig majority in the District, but the votes of all the Seven Wards of the Liberties, because, being in the aggregate largely Whig, the suppression of their votes rendered a Democratic victory certain. The "rectitude" of the "daring act"—the "conscious rectitude" and "manly independence" of the three Democratic Judges who perpetrated the act—were truly marvelous: the act was without a precedent in the history of parties. Hence, if the act of the Whig Governor Pennington, in certifying, in obedience to the laws of New Jersey, and to Democratic precedent in similar cases, the election of the five Whig members, who had the largest number of votes according to the returns before him, was a fraud or wrong—a crime against the people—what was the character of Democratic Governor Porter's act in certifying the election of Ingersoll? Was he not guilty of a greater fraud or wrong—a greater crime against the people? If therefore Pennington was a "tyrant," "despot," "usurper," what was Porter? What was the "conscious rectitude," what the "manly independence," of Clerk Garland, who, for opposite and conflicting reasons, placed the New Jersey and Pennsylvania cases in the same category of doubtful ones? Possibly, Justice Clifford could explain. Such an explanation—an elucidation of his notions of "conscious rectitude," of "manly independence," and of an "argument," "convincing and unanswerable," would no doubt "illuminate" his own course as President of the late Electoral Commission.

and tumult, acting Clerk Garland's impudence rose to the sublime. A quorum of members were known to be present: the fact was not open to doubt. But the acting Clerk having, in calling the roll of members, only reached New Jersey, and no quorum having consequently answered to their names, he ignored the patent fact that at least a quorum, if not a full House, was present, and refused to put motions to the meeting: he did not feel authorized to put any question except by general consent. His "conscious rectitude," his "manly independence," revolted at such a proposition. He even refused to put motions to adjourn. Hence, in the House, unorganized and incapable of organizing, without rules, and incapable of even adjourning, the most disgraceful disorder ruled: the very "chaos of anarchy" reigned supreme, and continued through several days. It could only meet and adjourn by a common understanding among members.

On Tuesday, the acting Clerk attempted but failed to obtain permission to read a written defence of his course, and persisted in his refusal to put motions or call the names of the New Jersey members. On Wednesday, he condescended to modify somewhat his previous attitude respecting motions. He had consulted the constitution; he had discovered in that instrument the clause which provides that less than a quorum may adjourn from day to day. He consented therefore to put motions to adjourn, but no other motions. On Thursday, after several motions had been offered, and many appeals had been made to him, the acting Clerk, in a fit of magnanimity, proposed to put them as chairman of a meeting of gentlemen present, but not as Clerk of the House. His humiliation and fall, however, were near. He was directed to call the roll. He began with Maine, and having reached New Jersey, he said: "And the Clerk has to repeat that—" When on his left, he heard the words: "I rise to interrupt the Clerk." They proceeded from John Quincy Adams. Instantly, through the hall, were heard the cries: "Silence, silence! Hear him! Hear John Q. Adams! Hear what he has

to say!" Pausing for a moment, and giving Clerk Garland "a withering look," Mr. Adams said:

"It was not my intention to take any part in these extraordinary proceedings. I had hoped that this House would succeed in organizing itself—that a speaker and clerk would be elected, and that the ordinary business of legislation would be progressed in. This is not the time or place to discuss the merits of the conflicting claimants for seats from New Jersey: that subject belongs to the House of Representatives, which, by the Constitution, is made the ultimate arbiter of the qualifications of its members. But what a spectacle we here present. We degrade and disgrace ourselves, we degrade and disgrace our constituents and the country. We do not, and cannot organize—and why? Because the Clerk of the House, the mere Clerk, whom we create, whom we employ, and whose existence depends on our will, usurps the throne, and sets us the Representatives, the vicegerents of the whole American people, at defiance, and holds us in contempt! And what is this clerk of yours? Is he to control the destinies of sixteen millions of freemen? Is he to suspend, by his mere negative, the functions of Government, and put an end to this Congress? He refuses to call the roll! It is in your power to compel him to call it, if he will not do it voluntarily." [Here Mr. Adams was interrupted by a member, who said that he was authorized to say that compulsion could not reach the Clerk, who had avowed that he would resign, rather than call the State of New Jersey. Mr. A. responded:] "Well, sir, then let him resign, and we may possibly discover some way by which we can get along without the aid of his all powerful talent, learning, and genius. If we cannot organize in any other way—if this clerk of yours will not consent to our discharging the trusts confided to us by our constituents, then let us imitate the example of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, when the Colonial Governor Dinwiddie ordered it to disperse, refused to obey the imperious and insulting mandate, and like men!"—

Here Mr. Adams was interrupted "by loud and deafening applause," and, having by his powerful appeal brought the yet unorganized assembly to a sense of its disgraceful and dangerous situation, he moved that the acting Clerk be required to proceed with the call of the roll. Similar motions had already been made by other members, but the Clerk refused to enter-

tain them. Mr. Adams was accordingly interrupted by "a burst of voices" demanding: "How shall the question be put?" "Who will put the question?" Mr. Adams responded: "I intend to put the question myself!" That brought order out of chaos. Upon a motion made by R. Barnwell Rhett, and put by him to the House, John Q. Adams was unanimously chosen to "officiate as presiding officer till the House be organized" by the election of its constitutional officers. The acting Clerk was squelched; his "conscious rectitude and manly independence" subsided in ill concealed mortification and chagrin.\*

A determined struggle now began for the possession of the New Jersey representation: at times, the violence and confusion, the disorder, the tumult, in the Hall, rivaled those produced by the conduct of the acting Clerk. The Whigs, as a body, contended for the admission of the members who appeared with the Governor's certificate, bearing the "Great Seal" of the State. That the Democracy violently opposed. They maintained that the Democratic contestants, appearing with the certificate of the Secretary of State, were entitled to their seats, but realizing that their admission was impossible prior to an organization, they demanded that both delegations should be excluded from participation in the organization. The Whigs maintained that such a course would be unprecedented; that the Whig delegation were the rightful representatives of the State; that their rejection would be unjust, and amount to a practical disfranchisement of the State; that, under the Constitution, until Congress should establish regulations on the subject, each State had a right, and it was her duty, to provide her own mode of holding elections for representatives, to prescribe the manner of determining the result, and the character or form of the

credentials to be given to the persons elected. New Jersey had exercised that right: she had performed that duty. She had enacted laws regulating the manner of holding elections for representatives—had prescribed the method of determining the result, and had fixed the character of the credentials of members elected. Consequently, all elections held in the State, the counting or canvassing of the votes, and all proceedings attendant upon an election at the polls and in finding the result, must be in accordance with, and under the forms prescribed by, those laws. All other proceedings or forms, or evidence, were illegal and void. The so-called certificate of the Secretary of State was therefore absolutely null and void: it had no legal value whatever. Hence, the Democratic contestants, claiming under the Secretary's certificate, had no legal evidence of a right to seats, and their claims must be rejected. Hence too, the *prima facia* case of the Whig members was perfect. They appeared under all the forms, with the credentials, and clothed with all the proofs of election, known to the laws of New Jersey. None, indeed, denied that they held the legal certificates of election. Nor did any seriously dispute the fact of the uniform practice of the House, from time immemorial, to admit members having the legal credentials, and in cases of contest, to try, after organization, the title of the respective claimants. They maintained, therefore, that under the Constitution, under the laws of New Jersey, under all the forms of law, and the immemorial practice of the House, the Whig members bearing the "Great Seal" of the State were entitled to seats as representatives of New Jersey; that they could not be denied their seats, nor refused a participation in the organization of the House, without violating the Constitution and the laws, without infringing the rights of the States, and reversing the immemorial usages of the House.

But the Democracy asked, "What is this 'broad seal'?" "Is it sovereign, or

\* Reminiscences of John Quincy Adams, by an Old Colony Man. The discipline applied in the House of the 26th Congress, to Acting Clerk Garland, may be studied with benefit by the clerk of the late House in preparing his list of members of the new House.

even the emblem of sovereignty?" "What is it more than

<sup>'Brass,</sup>

<sup>Impressed in red wax on the skin of an ass!'</sup>

"Was it to be allowed to override or destroy the real sovereignty—the sovereignty of the people?" They maintained that the Governor's certificate was only *prima facia* evidence of a right to a seat. They asked, was it conclusive or irrevocable, or in any sense binding upon the House, in the face of evidence which pronounced it a fraud, or issued for fraudulent ends? Did it necessarily bar the House from all inquiry into the facts? Indeed was it not the duty, as it was the right of the House, in order that justice might prevail, before organization, to go behind the Governor's certificate, and inquire into the facts?—to inquire whether the certificate was just, or based upon the facts? Whether they were held, under the laws of New Jersey, by those who had received a majority of the votes? They maintained that the certificate of the Secretary of State was entitled to equal weight with the Governor's, and like the Governor's had the "broad seal" of the State attached—that, indeed, it was entitled to greater weight because its statements were unchallenged by any one—by even the Governor or Whig claimants. It was no Delphic oracle, with an ambiguous meaning, but its statements were clear and indisputable. It declared that the five Democratic claimants had been elected upon the returns of the votes actually cast, and confessedly cast by even the testimony of Governor Pennington. Shall the minority rule? Shall the Whig representatives of the minority, Ayerigg & Co., be admitted to seats on the floor? Would not their admission disfranchise the majority—disfranchise the people of a sovereign State? They urged that it was the people, not the Governor, who elected representatives—that the Whig claimants were the "Governor's members," but that the Democratic claimants Messrs. Dickerson and his associates, represented the people of the State. They claimed that none de-

nied that these, upon the face of the township returns, had received a majority of the votes cast, and whether legally or illegally cast, as alleged, they were entitled to the count until judicially proved to have been illegally cast—that no power existed in the returning officers of the State to "eliminate" or suppress the township returns; that the county clerks were merely ministerial, not judicial officers, and that their rejection of the votes of Millville and South Amboy was illegal and fraudulent. Hence, by all the rules of justice and right, as by the laws of New Jersey, Messrs. Dickerson and his associates were entitled to the seats—that they were the only persons, as representatives of New Jersey, properly qualified to participate in the organization of the House. Why, then, should they not be admitted? Dare the Whigs consummate the fraud begun by Gov. Pennington? Shall the popular voice, the majesty of the majority, the sovereignty of a State, be violated, suppressed, by a corrupt and intriguing Governor and faithless county clerks—by mere technicalities, "squeaking technicalities," by mere forms of law, even by the law itself, or the usages of the House? Shall one or all of these be allowed to intervene to prevent or cripple a majority of the representatives of the nation from organizing, according to their will, the House of the people? Was it not the duty, as certainly it was the right, of the House to purge this great fraud—to summarily eject the "Whig usurpers."

In the language of the notorious Dr. Duncan, of Ohio, they one and all had "a most sovereign and indignant contempt for common law, fundamental law, broad seal, precedent, and Co." The people were above the law. "Parliaments and Congresses existed before Speakers"—liberty before law! Under the Constitution the House existed before so-called organization—before the election of Speaker, and possessed all the powers before that it did after the election of officers. Hence, under the circumstances, it was its duty to act promptly and to the pur-

pose. "The majority must rule!" Upon that was based our whole political system : to violate or infringe it was to deny to the people the right to choose their own representatives—was to strike at the foundation of our liberties, the very basis of our political system, and to prostrate the rights of the States under the heel of a corrupt and degrading despotism !

The whigs rejoined; the so-called evidence, over the signature of the Secretary of State, was entitled to little consideration: it had no legal weight; that only the Governor had official control of the Seal of the State, and consequently that the fixing of the Seal by the Secretary to his certificates to the Democratic claimants added nothing to their value; that even under the theory of State Rights, the Governor, and only the Governor, as the representative of the State, was the organ of communication between the State and Congress—was the returning officer of the State to the House; that, as such, he had certified the election of the Whig claimants; that his acts, and those of the county officers, were fortified by Democratic precedents in the State—by even that of Philemon Dickerson, one of the Democratic claimants, when Governor of the State; that the votes of Millville and South Amboy were rejected only because of frauds at the polls, the illegal voting of aliens and others not entitled to the franchise, and of informality in their returns; that the votes of those townships had been rejected by the county clerks of Middlesex and Cumberland upon their responsibility as sworn officers of the State; that their acts were legal and just—were absolutely demanded by the laws and their duty, and to preserve the purity of the election franchise; but that, whether just or not, they could only be inquired into by the House after its organization, after its appointment of committees, and when it had obtained the machinery and power to enter upon a judicial investigation of the facts.

The Chair (Mr. Adams) decided that Ayerigg and his associates—the Whig

claimants bearing "the Great Seal" of the State—were entitled to vote as the representatives of New Jersey in the House. Great excitement and clamor ensued. An appeal was taken from the decision of the Chair, and sustained by the House. Chaos threatened to resume its old sway. Motion followed motion. The disorder extended to the galleries. The hissing and hooting there indicated a design to repeat the disgraceful violence at Harrisburg the year previous, but General Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, sternly declared to the actors that if there was the slightest interruption of the business of the House he would "call on the President for a military force to preserve order."

The Chair, with great firmness, stated the question to be, whose names shall be called as members from New Jersey, and refused to entertain all motions until that was decided. Messrs. Wise, Tillinghast, and Cost Johnson moved that the names of the Whig claimants, bearing the commissions of the Governor, should be called as the representatives from New Jersey. Mr. McKay moved that neither set be called or vote. Confusion and tumult, amid angry debate, continued for days without producing any decision of the question. On the 5th, Mr. Wise had moved that "the acting Clerk" of the House proceed with the call of the roll in the usual way, calling the names of the members from New Jersey bearing "the Great Seal." Mr. Rhett had moved that it lie on the table. On the 10th a vote was demanded on Rhett's motion. The Chair, having receded from his decision that the preliminary question was, "who should vote from New Jersey," and all other questions having fallen under his rulings, the question recurred on Rhett's motion to lay Wise's on the table, and it was agreed, upon motion of Mr. Briggs, of Mass., that, in taking the vote, the tellers should count all the persons who passed between them, but report to the chair, for the decision of the House, the names of

all whose votes were disputed. Thus the vote was taken—yeas 115, nays 114, when the Chair added his vote to the nays, making the result—yeas 115, nays 115. The vote of Mr. Naylor, of Pa., was objected to. The Chair decided that it should be counted, as only the votes of New Jersey were involved in the question. From that decision Mr. Hopkins L. Turney, of Tenn., appealed. Disorder, confusion, and angry debate ensued. On the following day, the 11th, the vote on the appeal was taken, and resulted, yeas 112, in which number were included the votes of Mr. Naylor, of Pa., and of Messrs. Ayerigg, Yorke, Maxwell, Halstead, and Stratton of New Jersey, the Whig members, bearing "the Great Seal" of the State; nays 118, in which number were included the votes of Mr. Ingersoll, of Pa., the claimant of Mr. Naylor's seat, and of Messrs. Cooper, Kille, and Ryall, of New Jersey, the Democratic claimants of seats from that State.

The Chair stated that it was for the meeting to decide, name by name, upon the right of each disputed voter whose name had been reported to the Chair. Upon the vote of Mr. Naylor, it was decided that it be counted—yeas 119, nays 112; but Mr. Ingersoll's was unanimously rejected. Upon the votes of Messrs. Ayerigg, Maxwell, Halstead, Stratton, and Yorke, it was decided that they be not counted; the votes of Cooper, Ryall and Kille were unanimously rejected. So Mr. Rhett's motion that Wise's lie on the table was lost. Mr. Wise's motion was then voted down—yeas 115; nays 118.\*

On the following day, the 12th, Mr. Randolph read an indignant protest, signed by the discarded Whig claimants from New Jersey, against their rejection as members to represent that State in the House. He asked that it be included in the journal. The House refused; but on the 13th Mr. Wise, by a piece of parliamentary strategy, succeeded in spreading it on the journal.

The legislature of New Jersey also indignantly protested. It denounced the rejection by the House of the five members commissioned by the Governor under the "Great Seal" of the State as an outrage upon New Jersey—as a violation of the Constitution and laws of New Jersey—as a violation of the equal terms and conditions upon which she had become a member of the Union—as depriving New Jersey of her "just voice in the councils of the nation at a time when measures of great importance and deeply affecting her

interest" are pending. With prophetic forecast, anticipating the violence and crimes of the present day, it warns the House that it is establishing "a precedent" which, "if not promptly and successfully resisted, may hereafter be used" by "a designing and an unprincipled faction" to "justify the rejection of electoral votes, and, by the exclusion of duly commissioned representatives, to secure to itself the control of the national legislature." But the protest and warning were treated, of course, by the Democracy, with equal contempt.

An effort was made on the 11th, by Mr. Rhett, and on the 12th, by Mr. Dromgoole, to create a committee to which might be referred the settlement of the New Jersey contest, and their motions to that end were passed, but subsequently reconsidered, all amid the greatest disorder. Mr. Wise again moved that "the credentials of the Whig members are sufficient to entitle them to seats," the question of contest to be decided after organization, which was lost—yeas 117, nays 117.† Mr. Smith, of Me., on the 13th, moved "that the House proceed at this time to the election of a Speaker." A scene of indescribable disorder followed, and filibustering extraordinary began. Calls of the House, points of order, appeals, motions to lie on the table, and to adjourn, were made and withdrawn, but Mr. Smith's motion finally prevailed by a vote of 118 to 110. A motion to reconsider followed; filibustering was renewed, but the motion to reconsider failed by a vote of 120 to 109. Mr. White now moved that the votes of the Whig members from New Jersey be counted in the election of Speaker. After a determined struggle, amid filibustering and the greatest disorder, the House on the 14th reached a vote for Speaker. The Demo-

\* Mr. Randolph, in an address to the people of New Jersey, when speaking of the vote on this question, says: "It was determined in the negative, Mr. Hawes being detained by sickness, Mr. Kempshall by the death of his wife, and there being one vacant district in Massachusetts since filled by the election of Mr. Baker. Thus, by a tie vote of five less than a quorum and through sickness and death, New Jersey was disfranchised. Had the House been full the vote would have stood, yeas 120, nays 117, and New Jersey would be now fully represented."

† Nath'l'n Clifford, of Maine, now the oldest Justice of the Supreme Court, and President of the late Electoral Commission, voted in the negative.

In the learned member's speech of January 10 and 11, 1840, (App. Cong. Globe, vol. 8, pp. 204-10.) he exercises his marvellous genius in a support of the revolutionary measures of the Democracy for the disfranchisement of New Jersey in the organization of the House. He even applauds the extraordinary conduct of the astute acting Clerk. In the Clerk's written defence, which the House refused to

erats on the first and several subsequent ballots supported as their candidate, Jno. W. Jones, of Va.; and the Whigs, Jno. Bell, of Tenn. The first ballot resulted: Jones, 113; Bell, 102; scattering, 30; necessary to a choice 118. Eleven ballottings were had for Speaker. After the second ballot another effort was made in behalf of the Whig claimants from New Jersey, but again failed. On the 16th, on the 11th ballot, Mr R. M. T. Hunter, received 119 votes, and was declared elected. He took the Chair. On the 17th the members qualified, when the Whig members from New Jersey also claimed to be sworn. Mr. Hunter, the Democratic Speaker, declared his belief that they were entitled to qualify, but referred the matter to the House. Another struggle followed. Mr. Wise, with characteristic in-

consistency, now moved that the Whig members from New Jersey, "are not entitled to be sworn as members of this House." On the 20th, after another heated struggle, the motion of Mr. Evans, of Me. that they be sworn as members of the House was lost by a vote of yeas 112, nays 116. On the 21st the House adopted the rules of the preceding House, with the exception of the 11th, which provided that the vote for officers shall be *viva voce*, and continued its election of officers by the choice of Hugh A. Garland as Clerk, and Fred. Dorsey, as Sergeant-at-arms. On the 23d, after an unexampled struggle of three weeks, it completed its organization by the election of Jos. Foilansbee as Door-keeper, Jno. W. Hunter as Assistant Door-keeper, and Wm. J. McCormick as Postmaster.

DEWINTTON.

hear read, but which Nathan Clifford forced it to listen to by reading it as a part of his speech, the learned member finds, "breathing through it, a spirit of conscious rectitude" and "manly independence" characteristic of all the actions of the Clerk: its "argument" he declares "convincing and unanswerable" He says: "Up to this time I have contented myself with giving a silent vote on the various questions that had been presented in relation to this subject, taking care that the effect of every vote should be to protect the rights of the people"—that is, the rights of the Democracy—the rights of a fraudulent Democratic majority obtained by the illegal voting of men not entitled to the franchise. He maintains that the power of the House "to judge of the constitutional element of which it should be composed" is "coeval and coextensive" with the assembling of its members on the first day of the session—that the House constitutionally exists before the election of officers—that in its inchoate or mob-like state before organization it is clothed with all the judicial and other powers incident to an inquiry into all contested claims to seats—in other words, that the powers or forces of the body exist and are effective, before it possesses the organs of life and action. In support of these positions he enlarges learnedly upon the nature of "the Federal compact," indulging in characteristic flings at "consolidation" and the "Federalists," and quotes lovingly the much pro-titulated old Koran of States Rights and proslavery treason, the Virginia Resolutions of 1799–1800. He denounces "consolidation," and all the forms of Federalism. Like Dr. Duncan he anathematizes all "seals" and "stamps" and forms of law. He says: "The revolutionary struggle was not for 'seals' or 'stamps,' nor even for forms of law. The people of that day had enough of these ensigns of monarchy." \* \* \* "They fought for liberty and the right of representation." A capital sentiment for the oldest Justice of the United States Supreme Court—Marshall and Story, and jurists of that ilk lay it down as a fundamental maxim that "ours is a government of laws" that consequently all its acts, in all its departments—executive, legislative and judicial—are, or ought to be, based upon the laws, and regulated and enforced through the forms of law. But they were "Federalists," "consolidationists"—what better could be expected of them: they were wedded to the law and its forms, to the "ensigns of monarchy," and

consequently were enemies of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people! With Clifford the "*satus populi*" is the supreme "lex." Hence, the grand constitutional formula: "The people are sovereign—the Democracy are the people—their voice is the supreme law; ergo, whatever the Democracy decree or do is legitimate and right, and must be enforced, regardless of the wrong it may inflict—the ruin it may work." Thus we find the oldest Justice of the United States Supreme Court, in 1839, denouncing the suppression in New Jersey, by Whig county clerks, of the votes of two petty townships as a means of circumventing Democratic frauds at the polls, but sustaining the suppression in Pennsylvania, by Democratic returning judges, of one half of the whole voting population of the third Congressional district, in the effort to foist upon the House a fraudulent Democratic member from that district, and supporting with all his learning and ability, as a member of the House, the violent revolutionary measures and acts resorted to by the Democracy as means of consummating their frauds at the elections in the states. Thus, too, we find him as President of the late Electoral Commission performing a similar role—laboring with all his learning and abilities, with all the influence of his official position, to override the law, to break down and destroy all the forms of law; and, as in 1839, under the flimsy demagogic pretext of protecting the rights of the majority, laboring to consummate the most appalling frauds that ever disgraced a nation—fraud's only affected through massacre, outrage and crime—to foist into the seat of Washington, and upon the nation, a fraudulent Democratic President. It was the decree of the Democracy. It was written, it is true, in the blood of thousands of his countrymen. What of that? It was blood hostile to "the party," the Democracy must and shall rule! The oldest Justice, in 1844, applauded the corrupt and violent agencies which inflicted a fraudulent President, James K. Polk, upon the nation; and why should he not in 1876-7, and with a bitterness and malice born of disappointment, abominate everything—seals and stamps, the law and its forms—all "those ensigns of monarchy"—which united in defeating the efforts of the Democracy to again "convert a minority into a majority"—to foist again a fraudulent Democratic President upon the Republic.

## SOUTHERN CIVILIZATION.

Bulgarian atrocities! Not long ago a cry of horror startled the world and called out an indignant protest from all Christendom. A long series of Turkish cruelties has at length prepared mankind to see without regret the crescent wane out from the sky of Europe.

We have on our Southern Border a civilization scarcely less repugnant, to which the Chisolm massacre has emphatically called the attention of the country. The press generally without distinction of party or section has spoken out in unmistakable terms of condemnation and remonstrance. There are of course, as there always will be, specimens of the current journalism, like the *Meridian Mercury*, sufficiently depraved and diabolical to justify and applaud the infamy.

## THE STORY.

For eleven years Kemper County, Mississippi, has been the seat of violence and murder enough to disgrace the wildest state of savage life, until at length red-handed riot reigns supreme, and there is no power in local or State authorities to bring the offenders to justice. Accounts sufficiently authentic present us a picture of society, such as may well excite alarm and cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of every true American.

Briefly told, we have first a personal quarrel between two merchants of De Kalb, John W. Gully and B. F. Rush, who as partners had failed in business, fallen into mutual crimination and finally sought each others life. In the struggle Peter Gully, a brother of John, was killed outright, and Rush was left for dead by his adversary John Gully, who had put two loads of buckshot into his body. Strange to say Rush recovered, was indicted and tried for the murder of Peter, and was acquitted. John seems never to have been disturbed for his attempt upon the life of Rush. This was in 1866, John W. Gully was a furious Democrat, the local leader of his party in

the county, and an intense hater of the Republicans, or Radicals. The Gully clan comprised a number of that name with other political partisans, and formed the most turbulent and reckless body of men in the county. On the other hand Rush, as we shall see, entered into a Republican organization, and thus the feud was still further intensified. This is the first chapter.

In 1867 John P. Gilmor commenced merchandizing in Scooba, a railroad town in Kemper county, but a few miles distant from DeKalb the county town. He employed as his clerk a Mr. Davis. Both Gilmor and Davis had been confederate soldiers, and at that time were counted as Democrats, though unusually liberal in their views.

Judge W. W. Chisolm, had been a resident of De Kalb since 1846. He was a man of fortune, character, and position; his family consisting of himself, his amiable wife, his admirable daughter Cornelia, eighteen years of age, his two sons, one sixteen and the other thirteen, and another still eight years of age. In former times he had held posts of honor and trust in the county where his friends were counted by the thousands, for he was a man of large beneficence to whom the poor and friendless never appealed in vain. He had been elected to the office of Probate Judge consecutively from 1860 to 1866, resigning in May, 1867, and endorsing John McRea, who was appointed to succeed him, and who held the place till his assassination. Judge Chisolm was appointed sheriff of Kemper county, in July 1870, by Governor Alcorn, in which office he was continued till January, 1876, when the State went into the hands of the Democrats. He had also been temporarily in the confederate army, but at the close of the war he accepted the result in good faith, and in 1868, assisted by Judge McRea, W. B. Gamble, State Senator of that district, and B. F. Rush, he

organized the Republican party for the county, and by permission of Gilmor made his store the Republican headquarters for political consultation. The indignation already excited against Chisolm and his associates was thus turned upon Gilmer and his clerk Davis. The harboring of Chisolm and his friends was declared to be a public outrage; and the house was threatened with the withdrawal of the popular patronage. As time wore on the feeling against Gilmer and Davis became more bitter and pronounced, and as sometimes happens with bold and independent men, it drove them completely over into the Republican ranks, and they were henceforth obnoxious to the unrelenting hatred of their political opponents. This is the second chapter.

In 1871, a certain Hal. Dawson, a citizen of Alabama, a man of dissolute habits and a roaring Democrat, visited Scooba where learning that Gilmor and Davis had become Republicans, he gave it out that no — Radical should be permitted to live in Kemper county, and that he would undertake to drive them from the town. Hearing of his intentions they prepared to receive him. Soon after Dawson, pistol in hand, appeared at the front entrance of the building. He was met by Gilmor with a shot gun who warned him not to come in. He said he was not looking for Gilmor, but Davis, and wholly reckless of danger he pushed on till he met Davis who was also armed with a shot gun. Dawson was in the act of raising his pistol upon Davis when he fell dead before the discharge of the guns in the hands of those he had come to assail. Gilmer and Davis were at once arrested and lodged in the county jail. While thus imprisoned a body of masked men proceeded to Gilmor's store and taking out his goods burned them in the street.

Judge Chisolm who was then sheriff, hearing of threats to lynch the prisoners at once telegraphed Capt. Shaughnessy, United States Marshal at Jackson, who went to Meridian and with Capt. Yates,

of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a squad of soldiers arrived in De Kalb just in time to prevent the mob's bloody work. Gilmor and Davis were tried and acquitted. The parties who had burned the goods were indicted by a United States Grand Jury, and on pleading guilty before the court they gained a compromise by paying for the property.

About this time John W. Gully again appeared, engaged in a personal quarrel with Judge McRea. As the Judge went down the street and past the Gully store, the redoubtable Democrat, safe behind a shutter, discharged the contents of a double-barreled shot-gun full in his face. McRea, blinded by his wounds, in vain returned the fire, and after lingering in agony for a time finally died from the effect of this assault. Nothing was done with Gully. This is chapter third.

Then we come down to W. B. Gamble, who at the general election in 1871, had been chosen as a Republican to the State Senate. He was subsequently assassinated as is alleged and believed, by a negro Democrat hired for the purpose. At a special election in November, 1872, John P. Gilmor, was chosen to fill the vacancy, thus created in the Senate of the State, and from that hour he became a doomed man.

At the November election, in 1871, we find B. F. Rush, chosen to the office of Circuit Court clerk. Soon after while returning at night from his office to his home he was shot and left for dead in the road. He again recovered and charged the assault upon a son of John W. Gully, his old enemy.

The Gully party failing in two attempts to kill Rush, resorted next to a refinement of cruelty, in aspersing the good name of Mrs. Rush, and creating an odium harder to bear than any sense of personal danger. Circumstances of such a character could have but one tendency, and that only to deepen the hatred of men controlled by passion and excited by all manner of insult and injury.

In December last, John W. Gully was

waylaid and shot from the roadside. He soon, however, recovered, and although he never gave the name of his assailant, suspicion at once fastened upon Rush, who knowing he could no longer remain in safety, fled to Arkansas, and settled down in Russellville. But the spirit of vengeance was not appeased. This same Gully was on the 26th of April last, again waylaid, and this time killed. His body was found robbed of boots, watch and purse. It does not transpire who finally dispatched him. The fact of his death, however, roused his partizans to the highest pitch of resentment, and culminated in one of the most grimly romantic and fearful tragedies known in the annals of the country. This is chapter fourth.

As soon as the murder of John W. Gully was made known, the Democrats of the county resolved to visit vengeance on the chief Republicans and immediately laid their plans to this end. Though it is perfectly clear that the parties who were charged with Gulley's death had nothing whatever to do with it, yet on Saturday, the 28th of April, a large body of excited men, after attending the funeral of their late leader, repaired to the county seat, where a Mr. Covert, a resident of Lauderdale county, and son-in-law of Mr. Philip Gully, made an affidavit charging the killing of John W. Gully upon B. F. Rush, as principal, and W. W. Chisolm, John P. Gilmer, Charles Rosenbaum, the post master, A. J. Hopper, and his brother, one a small merchant and the other a saloon-keeper in the town, as accessories to the deed. Upon this affidavit warrants for the arrest of the accused parties were immediately issued, and the sheriff made his preparations to carry out the action. On learning these proceedings, the wife and daughter of Judge Chisolm urged him to leave the county until the excitement should subside. But he insisted that his absence at such a time would give color to the accusation, and that his only course was to remain and face the charge, in the full consciousness of his innocence. He also sent notice

to Gilmor and Rosenbaum, both then in Scooba, of the warrant for arrest advising them to come and give themselves up to the due process of the law.

Early the next morning, it being the Christian Sabbath, as if to mock the proverb "the better the day, the better the deed," and while a crowd of high-toned Democratic chivalry of the county were riding into town and fastening their horses to the bridle-posts about the courthouse, the sheriff proceeded to the mansion of the Chisolms and informed the Judge of the warrant for his arrest. Whereupon in view of the growing excitement in the streets and the menace of the gathering force, a temporary arrangement was made to hold Chisolm under guard at his own house. But by ten o'clock a.m. the mob had increased to the number of some two hundred men and had surrounded the dwelling of the accused, for the purpose of forcing him out of his retreat and getting him more completely in their power. They insisted that the sheriff should remove him to an out-building which had been used as a harness house. Thither the Judge went attended by his family, who seeing that the crowd were bent upon accomplishing his death, by their earnest entreaties prevailed upon the sheriff to permit him to return to his house, where they besought him to remain and await his fate surrounded by his own family and in his own home. But the violence and impatience of the mob increased, and they now insisted that Chisolm should be taken to the jail and be treated as any other prisoner amenable to the law. When it was found that nothing else would satisfy the clamor of the infuriated crowd, who seemed intent on separating him from his family if possible, he consented to go to the jail under the sheriff's promise of protection and with a guard of seven men, one of whom was an aged Scotchman and unnaturalized, named McClellan, and who proved to be the only man of honor in the whole posse. Under this guard, however, Judge Chisolm attended by his

heroic daughter and two elder sons made their sad way to the prison whose dismal corridors offered them for the moment a precarious shelter. The wife and mother having taken the youngest child, a boy of eight, to the house of a colored woman and charged him to await her return, then proceeded to the jail and was refused admittance by the mob.

Cornelia the brave daughter on learning that, with the exception of that of the Scotchman, McClellan, the guns of the guard had no shot in them, obtained leave to return home, where she procured and concealed about her person a quantity of ammunition, and filling her arms with provisions, at length, on the plea that her father and brothers were in need of food, prevailed upon the crowd to allow her to carry it in to them. After the Judge had been thus incarcerated, a portion of the mob seized upon a couple of negroes named Fox and Haughton, living out of town, but then on a visit to some colored people residing on the Chisolm premises, and by tying ropes around their necks and threatening them with hanging, attempted to extort from them some proof to implicate Judge Chisholm in the alleged conspiracy. But the poor fellows, though terror-stricken at their prospects, stoutly persisted in their utter ignorance of any evidence of the kind, and were finally released when they fled as fast as possible to the woods.

While all this was passing another heart-rending scene transpired in a different quarter. As soon as Gilmor received the message from Chisolm he went to his house, and while preparing to leave for DeKalb he delivered his watch and valuable papers to his wife, remarking, "Effie, if any thing should happen and I should be killed you would not have my body buried immediately." This alarmed her and she insisted on going with him. But as there was no conveyance at the time, and she a mother with an infant in her arms, it was arranged that a carriage should be sent for her from DeKalb and that she should join him before the

night-fall. So, accompanied by Rosenbaum, his friend, they rode on horse-back till they arrived at the house of the father of the latter, just on the edge of the town, where hearing of the excitement about the streets, they addressed a note to the sheriff informing him of their whereabouts, and saying they were ready to surrender to the officers of the town. The sheriff sent a deputy, a Mr. Britton, to whom after the most positive assurance of protection they delivered their pistols and started with him to the jail. As they were passing the Gully store, in the business part of the town, without a word of warning, Gilmor was shot in the back with a load of buck-shot, when he exclaimed, "For God's sake don't shoot, I am unarmed and have surrendered," and then turning to the deputy he said, "you promised me protection." He was fired at again but without effect. He then staggered into an ally between two stores when the third shot from the front planted another load of shot in his breast. Falling to the ground and attempting to crawl under a house, a human fiend stepped up and placing a gun to the back of his head blew out his brains upon the spot. During this excitement Rosenbaum ran among the crowd and so saved his life, as they could not shoot him without endangering their friends.

Think now of Mrs. Gilmor, that young wife with an infant babe in her arms, still waiting for the conveyance to take her to her husband. Late in the evening she heard sounds of carriage wheels approaching. Alas, it was only a common wagon that had brought back to her the bloody and mangled body of her murdered husband wrapped in bolt of sheeting. The startling spectacle was the first and only intimation of what had transpired. Without friends, alone in her sorrow, she had the remains buried as best she could and then started for DeKalb to offer her services to the suffering Chisolms. But the strain upon her was too great, and she was soon prostrated where she still lies in a most critical condition.

Soon after the killing of Gilmor, the shots of which were distinctly heard at the jail, the infuriated mob proceeded thither and informing Rosenbaum and the Hoppers that they intended to kill Chisolm, and at the same time exacting from them a promise of non-interference on the condition of sparing their lives; they shut them for the time being in a separate cell and then commenced calling the guard down one by one to make sure that their purpose should not be resisted. All of the guards save McClellan, the sturdy Scotchman, submitted to the mobs dictation. But when the matter was proposed to him, he stated that "he was a friend of Chisolm, that he had been chosen by the Judge and placed on guard by the sheriff, and that he should do his duty without fear or favor." Whereupon they fired upon the grand old hero and killed him instantly.

After the Scotchman fell Mrs. Chisolm, the wife and mother, appeared upon the scene and implored the crowds for mercy. She reminded them that her husband was a prisoner under the protection of the sheriff in the hands of the law, and for a little time by her piteous appeals seemed to quell the terrible excitement. But there was one demon incarnate whose heart she could not soften. A doctor David Rosser stood forth and denounced the mob as a set of cowards. He said they had come for the express purpose of killing Chisolm and that he would be the man to lead them in person. Then seizing an ax and breaking open a lower door that led up to the jail proper, he caught up a double-barrelled shot-gun and advancing up the stair-way fired at Miss Chisolm and her little brother Johnnie, who were holding the upper door. The shot struck the grating and filled the daughters face with fragments of the shivered metal. Failing by this to drive them from the door he fired again, shooting off the hand of little Johnnie, who then crawled back to his father crying "Don't shoot my papa!"

Then Miss Chisolm seizing the guns of

the pretended guard handed them to her father. Rosser advanced with another loaded gun, furnished him by his friends in the rear, and pushing open the grating, trained his fire upon Chisolm, before whom little Johnnie persisted in standing like a wall. The shot killed the brave lad instantly and inflicted a serious wound upon his father. Then the Judge and his daughter at the same moment returning the fire shot off the head of Rosser. The crowd seeing their leader fall, cried out "they have ammunition, the guns are loaded!" and terror stricken they swiftly retreated down the stairs, dragging Rosser along with them.

Then again advancing, a son of John W. Gully fired twice upon Mrs. Chisolm but without effect, while she having procured one of the guns left by the guard placed the muzzle near his breast and discharged the contents of both barrels, doing but little damage as the guns were loaded only with powder and wadding.

Then a shout arose from the terribly incensed crowd. "Fire the jail." Cornelia hearing this cry lifted the dead body of her little brother and bore it down stairs to her front door, and then returning to her father said, "Papa they have fired the jail, it is better to be shot to death than to be burned to death!" Then occurred a most affecting scene, full of the melting pathos of romance. Putting his arm around his daughter the stern man said: "Go leave me to die alone. Remember I am wholly innocent of the crime with which they charge me." But the noble girl refused to leave him, and throwing her arm around his neck, and keeping her body as much as possible before his person she went with him down stairs into the face of the mob.

When near the foot of the stairway they were fired upon. A bullet struck a heavy gold bracelet on the girls right arm driving the pieces through. A load of buck-shot entered her left limb just below the knee, and another ball striking her in the thigh, brought her to the ground when some heartless wretch came

and smote her in the face with his fist, or the butt of a pistol, scaring her forehead and blacking her eye.

The Judge discovering that the alarm of fire was a decoy turned to go up stairs, when he was struck by several shots fired simultaneously, in the side and abdomen and fell down mortally wounded and unconscious at the foot of the stairs.

At last the bloody deed was done. The other prisoners who had been in the jail were then permitted to come down and assist the broken family to bear away to their desolate home the wounded and the dead. But even as they were doing this, a portion of the mob still followed after them attempting further shots, and were only deterred by the presence and appeals of that devoted girl who, with her face and clothes all blood and her arm shattered and dangling at her side, threw herself between them and her father, and implored them to desist. She told them that he was dying or was already dead and besought them to leave to those who loved him the care of his lifeless body. On reaching the family mansion, the Judge was found to be still alive, and steps were immediately taken to prevent a fatal issue. But the house was still under the surveillance of the mob who swore that the man should neither be permitted to remain nor to leave the county alive. While there was the faintest hope of his recovery his noble wife aided by a few constant friends, did all in her power to rescue the family from further evil of this terrible excitement. She made the most melting appeal to the Governor of the State, who with a heart harder than the thing whose name he bears, refused her most reasonable request. At last while the heart of the nation is stirred with the utmost sympathy and condolence for a family so shattered, the news comes up as on the wings of the wind that both father and daughter are no more. They were buried without the rites of Christian sepulture, and only by special permission and favor of the most damnable mob that ever polluted American soil or disgraced the American name.

#### THE LESSON OF THE STORY.

What a commentary is this case upon the state of society out of which such things can grow. It is but one of the long series of transactions which show the barbarous nature of Southern civilization. The whole South has been trained in a school of vulgar feudalism in which the worst features of the mediaeval ages and of all revolutionary times in the history of human empire have been most fostered and developed. Cursed and blighted by two-hundred-and-fifty years of the most demoralizing servitude the world has ever known, with population of uncertain ancestry descent, and with the mingled blood of cavaliers, free-booters, and outlaws, with the total lack of any complete system of general education, with a contempt for labor, with a religion of dogma rather than of life and conduct, with the false standard of the duel and the illusive estimate of physical courage, with the scorn of human life itself, and the right of personal vindication without regard to any form of law—what may not be expected from a condition of society so moulded and so actuated to shock the moral sentiment of the civilized world.

Among a people where ignorance is wide-spread as it is in the South, where passion is always strong and seldom or never restrained, where life itself is held cheaper than prejudice, and political assassination is regarded not as a crime but rather in the light of self preservation, there certainly can be no freedom of private opinion, and no proper exercise of the prerogatives of American citizenship. That this is really the state of things in the South every day furnishes more and more convincing proofs. The recent letter of Senator Morton, recapitulating the social and political outrages that are spread out all over the Southern States, and all along the history of successive years evinces the fundamental distinction between the North and the South in the elements of their respective civilization. Now it cannot be that these two systems

will coalesce and flourish side by side together. One must in course of time give way to the other, for one is the supremacy of truth and reason, and the other is the domination of the bowie-knife and shot-gun.

Nor can the plea be made any longer, that such cruelties exist in the fervid imagination of the enemies of the South. The cry of "the flaunting of the bloody shirt" may have answered to stifle inquiry at some periods in the past. But those days are gone by, and now it becomes us to put the South in the pillory of public scrutiny and to concentrate the light of popular opinion in one blazing local point upon such exhibitions of the state of Southern society as the recent Kemper tragedy.

Of course this is not an isolated case. Even since the occurrence, transactions in other portions of the South of a similar character, though less likely to fix public attention, have been reported. Here for example is a tale of horror related from the State of Georgia, which shows the debasement of human nature, and the criminal neglect of all processes of courts or of laws, and that the reign of the mob is unquestioned and without remedy:

"COLUMBUS, GA., May 28.—Last Friday morning, before daybreak, Mrs. C. C. Chambliss, of Stewart county, was murdered by three negroes of the neighborhood. They fired fences and drew her husband away from the house. The negroes then proceeded to the house to rob it, and were met by Mrs. Chambliss, a beautiful woman aged eighteen years, armed with a gun. One of the negroes, Jerry Snead, took the gun from her and lodged the contents in her head, causing her death instantly. The negroes then burned the corn crib and fled. They were pursued and captured. Jerry admitted the deed and implicated his companions, Stephen Abram and Wm. Booth. They were brought to Chambliss' house that afternoon, and it was unanimously decided by about three hundred whites and blacks present that they should be hanged. A gallows was erected, and the murderers were hanged with trace-chains. The colored participants in the lynching threw the lifeless bodies into an old field to rot,

and it was with great difficulty that the whites could persuade them to permit a burial. The culprits met their fate jeeringly and sneeringly, glorying in their deed and taunting their executioners. A cotton rope was first used on Stephen Abram, but it broke, and he asked the crowd to get a stronger one. No other rope could be found and trace chains were used."

Here we have the slaughter of a beautiful woman, by three brutalized negroes, who then insanely court a death which is inevitable.

It is but a type of the general sentiment and common custom of the society of the South. Judge Chisolm's only crime was Republicanism; and his children's crime that they loved their father; yet the fiendish mob pursued and shot them down as though they had been vipers, and of all the thousands of friends of former days not one followed them to the grave, and there was not even the respect of decency suffered in the observance of the customary rites of religion.

In the murders committed at DeKalb nothing seems wanting to aggravate the atrocity, and nothing can be adduced in palliation of its brutality and heartlessness.

#### THE DIFFERENCE.

That an attempt should be made to compare the North with the South in these particulars, is of course to be expected. But there is this one grand fundamental difference. In no Northern State, upon the commission of such a horror, could a Governer be found who after visiting the scene of desolation, would return as Governor Stone, of Mississippi, did, with the remark "It will not do to stir this matter further. It must be permitted to die out." And in no Northern State would there be a journal so sunken and debased as to approve in its columns such a paragraph as this from the *Meridian Mercur*:

"April 29, in DeKalb, never ought to be investigated, and if wisdom and statesmanship prevail, never will be. On that day the higher law which antedates common law and all other law ousted them all and their ministers of jurisdiction, and for a

brief period of time, sufficient to its purposes, held way. Its judgements were final. As they affect the living and the dead, they are *res adjudicata* and will ever remain so. No court is competent to disturb them. Every attempt to review them will be both futile and mischievous. Special instructions to grand jurors are likely to go unheeded, and to save an exhibition of their impotency had best not be given. The best thing the law and the ministers can do about the tragedy is to save their strength for the future as wiser than wasting it foolishly and vainly on the past."

The South has long been crying to be left alone. The Democracy of the South have finally succeeded in securing Federal military non-interference, and in assuring to themselves a solid political Southern fabric. But there are elements in the intellectual and moral world that will no more let them alone than the winds or the rains or the sunlight of heaven. There are influences too subtle

for the coarse and bloody violence of the bludgeon and revolver, that must penetrate through this dense darkness of Southern civilization, and finally dispel the gloom of such a spectacle. For in this case it is likewise true that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The name of Cornelia Chisolm will stir a nobler spirit in the South. Her future memory will be a spell of inspiration to many of the children of the Republic, "for thus," says a chronicler of the time, "has passed away one of the most heroic and angelic spirits that ever brightened this Southern clime. She had but recently graduated with the highest honors of her school. Beautiful and accomplished she was the hope of a fond mother and the pride of a devoted father's heart. He now sleeps by the side of his darling boy and his angelic daughter. Can anything surpass in malignity, the deep damnation of their taking off?"

---

#### AN OPEN LETTER FROM SENATOR MORTON.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 25.—Several weeks ago an open letter was addressed to me, through the columns of the New York *Times*, written on behalf of more than one hundred prominent Southern Republicans, stating their views on the political situation and inviting mine. I have also received many letters from different parts of the country inquiring into the condition of the Senatorial question from Louisiana as it stood at the adjournment of the Senate. The Senator then alludes to Mr. Kellogg's presenting himself to the Senate on March 5 for admission, and the action of the Senate on his case. He also reviewed the action in Louisiana as to Mr. Kellogg's election.

After stating that Mr. Kellogg's credentials were referred, Mr. Morton says: The Committee on Privileges and Elections met soon afterward and the Republican members united in a report that, *prima facie*, S. B. Packard, was the lawful Governor of Louisiana; the Legislature was the lawful Legislature; and that Wm. P.

Kellogg had been elected in conformity to the act of Congress, and was entitled to be sworn in and take his seat. As a number of the members of the Senate were absent, and the subject would lead to a long debate, and there was general anxiety to adjourn, the report was not laid before the Senate. If the majority of the Senate shall, at the next session, be of the opinion that Kellogg was lawfully elected by the Legislature of Louisiana, he will be entitled to his seat, notwithstanding the events that have since occurred. No subsequent breaking up of that Legislature, combination or arrangement can in the least affect his title or destroy the legality of what took place at that time.

Though the very members who proclaimed the election of Packard and made that of Kellogg should subsequently declare that of Nichols and take part in the election of Spofford, it is too clear for argument they could not take away the rights which had vested or make that unlawful

which had been before lawful. Unless Kellogg voluntarily withdraws, the Senate will have to decide the question of his election as it stood at the time of adjournment.

#### SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.

The Republican Governments of Louisiana and South Carolina have yielded to force. They have gone down before an armed minority, whose threats of future violence were guaranteed by a long train of bloody deeds done in the past. I regret that the real character and transaction should be obscured in the least by pretended investigations or negotiations.

Stripped of all disguise and pretenses the simple fact is that Packard and Chamberlain were not able to maintain themselves in authority and the Government of the United States, in the exercise of its discretion, refused them its support. Then the Legislatures, finding themselves defenceless, fell to pieces, and from their ruins, in part, new Legislatures have been constituted, whose legality consists only in the fact that there are none to oppose them. The law and the rights of the majority have yielded to an armed aggressive minority. The Democratic party in Louisiana, an undoubted minority, possessing most of the wealth, arms and military experience, were determined to govern, whatever it might cost in the way of life.

Their threatened majority at the late election cost many lives, and cost the product of the most infamous and damning of crimes. The murders and crimes had been proved, and the blood-stained majority set aside by lawful process. The administration decided that such a case of insurrection and violence was not presented as authorized the National Government to interfere, and that the contending parties must be left to their own strength and resources. Assurances were given that the rights of all classes should be protected, and government administered for equal benefit to all. General promises of this kind amount to little, especially when left to the voluntary execution of the party which believes that the colored man ought not to have political rights, even personal freedom, and who never has been considered part of the people.

President Hayes was urged to give up Louisiana and South Carolina at once, and was told that it was only a question of time, that at the next election they would go as Mississippi, Alabama, and other States had, and it would be better to give them up at once. However repulsive this argument, it was unfortunate-

ly too true. The same crimes and violence which had wrenched Mississippi and Alabama from the Republican party, and had so nearly captured Louisiana and South Carolina, would certainly succeed next time. This was an argument of expediency, not right and justice. President Hayes but accepted the situation as it was bequeathed him on the 4th of March. The Republican governments of Louisiana and South Carolina could only be kept in place by the army.

What might have been the result had President Grant promptly recognized the Packard and Chamberlain governments in January, and declared his purpose to sustain them by force, it is not now necessary to discuss. But he did not do so, and on the 4th of March, when Mr. Hayes came into power, he found these governments existing only in name, surrounded by enemies, living only from day to day by the presence and protection of United States troops. Would it have been in the power of the President to maintain them by the army?

#### THE ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. Morton here speaks of the House refusing to vote appropriations for the army unless conditions were incorporated that the army should not be used in Southern States, which he says was clearly unconstitutional. The question was, should the President yield to the inevitable, or proceed only to inevitable defeat? There are and have been for years many Republicans in the North who have deprecated the use of the army to support Republican state government in the South. The Republican majority in the Senate upon the Southern question is but nominal, if it exist at all. Five Republican Senators voted at the late executive session against Kellogg, and to refer his credentials to a committee, thus refusing to recognize the Packard government, and a number of Republican Senators, sufficient when added to the Democratic members, to constitute a majority, have steadily refused to recognize the Republican State governments in Louisiana since 1873, by voting against seating a Senator chosen by it. While in my judgement it was clearly the right of the President under the Constitution to recognize the Packard government and support it by military power, the undertaking would have been futile and the failure disastrous. With divided public opinion in his own party and both Houses of Congress against him he would have failed in the end. The Democratic House has power to destroy the army entirely, and from my knowledge of the

Senate I am sure the Republican majority of that body could hardly be relied on to support him in such a course. We have had so much talk about conciliation and fraternity that many well-meaning people in the North had come to believe that all that was necessary to secure tranquillity and equal rights in the South was to withdraw the army, the Republicans to abandon the struggle and commit the government to the white Democrats of those States.

#### SOUTHERN POLITICAL MURDERS.

The professed yearning for peace and fraternity of the very men who planned the massacres in Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, have been received with disgust intensely nauseating to the people who understood the facts. The painful truth is that political murders in the South have ceased to be shocking, and are readily justified by energetic talk about carpet-baggers, scalawags and radical thieves. Not a man has been punished for the butcheries at Hamburg, Ellenton, Colfax, Coushatta, Mechanics' Institute, Clinton, Vicksburg, or any other of the hundred slaughters of Republicans that might be named. I do not believe that President Hayes intends to destroy the Republican party and attempt the erection of a new one upon its ruins. I believe in his patriotism and high integrity in his undivided purpose to make the Administration a beneficence to country. The language of his inaugural was strong and beautiful, and the declaration of his devotion to the great doctrines of human rights, which constitute the foundation of the Republican party, left nothing to be added or desired. He began the conduct of national affairs under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. The minds of men were greatly divided as to what should be done; that things could not long go on as they were.

He marked out his course, and addressed himself to it with undaunted courage. Mr Hayes was elected as a Republican, and I believe he will be a Republican President, not in a mere partisan way, but in the sense of devotion to Republican principles and the maintenance of the Republican organization by placing the political power in the hands of worthy and qualified Republicans. Political principles do not execute themselves. They require a party to do that. Organization in

politics is as necessary as in war. Great numbers of the same way of thinking, but acting without concert, are as helpless as an unorganized multitude in the presence of a disciplined army. I present the Republican party as a grand and indispensable instrumental for carrying into operation the true principle of government and human rights.

We hear it said that the Republican system of reconstruction is a failure. The only sense in which it has failed is that it has been resisted by armed and murderous organizations, by terrorism and proscriptions the most wicked and cruel of the age, and if the Democratic assurances to President Hayes in Louisiana and elsewhere of protection and equal rights are executed in good faith the system will not be a failure, but a grand success, extorted from its enemies. The great features of reconstruction are the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, establishing the equal civil and political rights of all men, and the statutes enacted for their enforcement. So far as these have failed reconstruction is a failure; so far as they succeed, reconstruction.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

Let it be understood that the great purpose now of the Southern people is to recover from the losses inflicted by the rebellion. They do not now think of leaving the Union. They are not now preparing schemes for future secession, but are with intense earnestness revolving plans for recovering from their great losses. For this purpose they will support the Democratic party North as long as it is subservient to their policy, notwithstanding their ill-suppressed resentment for its influence in getting them into a rebellion, and its sneaking and cowardly course while it lasted. We are told they are quiet in those States where the Democratic rule is established. Very likely. When they have gained the complete power and the Republican party has ceased to struggle, there will be no inducement to shoot men because of their politics.

There will be peace when there is an abject submission. Let the recent massacre in Mississippi, which has made the Modoc comparatively respectable, answer. Peace which is obtained by stamping a political party out of exist-

ence is not the harbinger of prosperity and happiness.

HOW MR. TILDEN LOST HIS HOLD UPON THE SOUTH.

The large body of white people who engaged in the rebellion are firmly united in favor of several things, and they will stand by the party that favors them, and oppose to the bitter end the party that opposes them. Among these is the payment for rebel property taken or destroyed by our armies. When Mr. Tilden wrote his letter just before election against these claims he lost his hold upon the South, and was made to feel it in the late struggle in Congress. No Democratic candidate will repeat his blunder.

Although Southern Democrats voted for him after he wrote the letter, it froze the current of their sympathies and had more to do in retaining them from filibustering to prevent the counting of votes than any other cause. It greatly reconciled them to the loss of Tilden. In the late House the dividing line between rebel and loyal claims was ignored, and in a single Democratic administration would be obliterated. When this comes to pass about claims, the distinction in rebel and union debt will be obliterated and lost. Slaves will be treated as other property sacrificed by our Government. It will not all be done or avowed at once, but step, by step already more rapid, until the public mind has become demoralized.

The rebellion has ceased to be a crime — scarcely a mistake. The complete restoration of the fraternity will demand the abolition of all distinctions in law between loyalty and treason. The Republican party was never more necessary to the nation than it is to-day. All talk about laying down the Republican organization to take up a new one with a new title into which the old Confederates may enter without wounding their susceptibilities would be criminal if it were not supremely silly. The proposition that the party which saved the nation and embodies in its creed the principle on which it must live, if live it does, and which has a record the most glorious in the annals of human organizations, shall commit suicide as an act of conciliation to the late enemies of the Republic silences comment by its audacity. We are but realizing

what has been visibly coming for several years.

THE PRESENT RULERS IN THE SOUTH.

From 1868 it has been apparent that the Republican party of the South should be overthrown by force if it could not be done otherwise. The opening scenes of carnage in that year, in which more than 2,000 Republicans were killed and wounded in Louisiana alone, were but a prelude to the campaign of violence which ended in the bloody field of last year. The destruction of the Republican party would make the Democratic party supreme and fasten upon the country its odious policy and principles.

The men who directed the bloody crusades in the South for the last ten years, that have now culminated in a final victory in South Carolina and Louisiana, are still living and have loss none of their power. The men who within several years have wielded the Democratic party in solid column, North and South, against the fifteenth amendment are still in the ascendent. Is any one weak enough to believe they or a majority have been soundly converted and are honest advocates of the equal rights of men? It is my opinion that the body of the Southern Democracy have not changed in regard to the civil and political rights of the negro, and that if Tilden had been elected President within his term of four years the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments would have been substantially overthrown.

In most of the Southern States this would have been accompanied by methods recently illustrated in Mississippi and other States, and is altogether possible for that exquisite potential genius which can extract a Democratic majority of 60,000 from a Republican majority of 30,000. No one prays for conciliation and fraternity between North and South more earnestly than myself, but conciliation and fraternity to be honorable and durable must be based upon concession of equal civil and political rights, peace and protection to men of all races and creeds.

If the men who held the colored people in bondage, and who at every step since the war and until yesterday fought against equal rights and the constitutional amendments, are to-day re-

generated, and will now administer the great principles asserted by the Republican party and placed by it in the Constitution and laws, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Such a frame of mind on the part of the Southern people I should regard as the most important and desirable of all political conditions, the grand result which every patriot has at heart, but if I don't believe in this sudden conversion I ought not to be considered incredulous and prejudiced, and if about this I am wrong, and if the Republican party have by their efforts and discipline subdued the very hearts of the Democracy of the South, how can we sufficiently comprehend and magnify the achievement? In Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and part of Missouri, and middle and western Tennessee,

**FREE SUFFRAGE EXISTS CHIEFLY IN NAME.**

Georgia, in which there is not a difference of 8,000 votes between the parties, gave Tilden a majority of 81,000. In six counties not a Republican vote was polled. Mississippi with a Republican majority of 30,000, was made to return a Democratic majority of 60,000. In four counties, containing 50,000 Republican votes, seven Republican votes were polled, which were admitted just to show that Republicans could vote. Alabama with a clear Republican majority of 10,000, was made to return a Democratic majority of 3,500.

In Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas approximate results were produced by like processes. It is folly to allege that in these States there were liberty, protection and equal rights. The voluminous testimony taken by Senate committees establishes the fact that the liberty enjoyed by Republicans, both white and black, was but nominal. They were outcasts from society, oppressed in business, hunted like criminals, and denied the protection of the laws. Peace and commercial prosperity based upon such conditions are hollow and worthless, and are but another form of barter of rights for gold.

The quiet was that of strangulation and paralysis, and audacious falsehood at last grows weary of telling us that such results were anything but crimes. If South Carolina, with a Republican majority of 25,000, and Louisiana, with like majority of 15,000, are to be conciliated and pacified in the same way, the hope and promises held out to President Hayes will have been broken in every part.

Upon the contrary, if the Republicans in those States, white and black, shall be protected in person, property and freedom of speech, action and occupation. I shall be the first to acknowledge the grand result. I will ignore the past, let by-gones be by-gones, accept the new conditions with joy, and believe that the rebellion was not suppressed in vain. 'Tis to this happy condition that President Hayes aspires, and all should earnestly pray for the full realization of his hopes.

The Republican party South, with all its errors, waged a noble contest for right, and the courage and self-sacrifice displayed by its members are embalmed in history. The warmest sympathies of the Republicans of the North attend those of the South in their desolate and undone condition, with the earnest hope that the dark, overshadowing cloud may have a silver lining, and that there may be a day of speedy resurrection.

By the voluntary withdrawal of the army the South has been placed on her good behavior. Following their bloody campaigns for political power they have been treated with magnanimity, and should they fail to protect all classes and races in the enjoyments of their rights the most conservative Republicans will see there is no security but to preserve the Government in the hands of the Republican party. As the Democracy have acquired a solid South by force, the Republicans should acquire a solid North by their vigilance and eternal justice of their cause.

Northern Republicans are now admonished that they can endure no divisions that will endanger their success. Should the North by unhappy discord be divided and thus fall a prey to the solid Confederate South, the rebellion will have been suppressed in vain, the fruits of war will be lost and our last condition worse than the first.

O. P. MORTON.

**TWELVE STATES** will hold elections during the present year, to wit: Kentucky, August 6; Vermont, September 4; California, September 5; Maine, September 10; Iowa and Ohio, October 9, and Massachusetts, Mississippi, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin, November 6. In four of these State Legislatures are to be chosen, which will furnish successors to a like number of United States Senators whose terms expire on March 4, 1879, viz: Kentucky, New York, Ohio, and California.

**MICHIGAN** has abolished grand juries; Massachusetts does away with coroners.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

ORGANIZATION OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, June 11, 1877.

1877. Department No. 76. Secretary's Office.]

From and after the 1st day of July, 1877, the distribution of the work of the Secretary's Office will be as follows, and the several divisions will be designated as herein-after stated:

*Assistant Secretary—Hon. R. C. McCormick.*

The general supervision of all the work herein assigned to the divisions of appointments; public moneys; revenue marine; stationery, printing, and blanks; loans and currency; bureau of engraving and printing; and office of the director of the mint.

The signing of all letters and papers as Assistant Secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," relating to the business of the foregoing divisions and bureau, that do not by law require the signature of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The performance of such other duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary, or by law.

*Assistant Secretary—Hon. H. F. French.*

The general supervision of all the work herein assigned to the divisions of customs; special agents; internal revenue and navigation; warrants, estimates, and appropriations; and to the offices of supervising architect, supervising surgeon general of marine hospitals, bureau of statistics, and supervising inspector general of steam-boats.

The signing of all letters and papers as Assistant Secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," relating to the business of the foregoing divisions that do not by law require the signature of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the signing, instead of the Secretary, of certain warrants under section 246 of the Revised Statutes.

The performance of such other duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary, or by law.

*Chief Clerk—J. K. Upton.*

The supervision, under the immediate direction of the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, of the duties of the clerks and employees connected with the department.

The superintendence and custody of all buildings or parts of buildings occupied by the Treasury Department in this city, and

supervision over the force which is in any way connected with the care of them; the transmission of the mails between the department and the post office; the care of all horses, wagons, and carriages employed in the transaction of departmental business; and the direction of those persons employed as engineers, machinists, freemen, or laborers, who are paid from the appropriation for contingent expenses of the department.

The expenditure of the appropriations for contingent expenses of the Treasury Department; for furniture and repairs of same for public buildings under control of the Treasury Department; for fuel, lights, water, and miscellaneous items for public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department; the keeping of the accounts of said expenditures and the preparation of all reports relating thereto; the supervision of the accounts of the custodians of public buildings, and the keeping of an account of all property in buildings under the control of the Treasury Department.

The distribution of the mail, the custody of the records and files and library of the Secretary's Office, the answering of calls from Congress, other departments, the Court of Claims, and elsewhere, for copies of papers, records, &c.

The compilation and publication of the monthly digest of circulars and decisions of the Secretary.

Supervision of all the official correspondence of the Secretary's Office, so far as to see that it is expressed in correct and official form; the enforcement of the general regulations of the department, and the charge of all business of the Secretary's Office not assigned to some one of the divisions or bureaus attached to the office.

*Division of Appointments—Chief, T. C. H. Smith.*

The supervision of all matters relating to the appointment, removal, promotion, or suspension of the officers, clerks, messengers, &c., under the control of the Treasury Department, and the custody of papers pertaining thereto, including the examination of applications and recommendations for appointment or employment, and the preparation of commissions therefor; the examination and investigation of all complaints and charges against officials or employes, except when such investigation is otherwise specially directed; the preparation of reports required by law to be laid before Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, relative to the employment and compen-

sation of persons in various branches of the public service; and the preparation and publication of the "United States Treasury Register."

The verification of all pay-rolls of the department, and all vouchers for salaries of steamboat inspectors, custodians, and janitors; the inspection of the accounts of internal revenue gaugers; and the examination of all estimates for salaries and compensation of officers and employees, and of incidental expenses payable from the appropriation for collecting the customs revenue, and keeping account thereof.

The keeping account of absence from duty of employees in the several bureaus and offices of the department, and the consideration of requests for leave of absence.

*Division of Warrants, Estimates, and Appropriations—Chief, J. T. Power.*

The issue of all warrants for the receipt and payment of public moneys, and of appropriation and surplus fund warrants.

The preparation and keeping of all appropriation, sinking-fund, public debt, and Pacific railroad accounts.

The compilation and publication, for the use of Congress, of the annual estimates of appropriations required for the service of all departments of the Government, and of the digest of appropriations made at each session of Congress, with the designation of titles under which funds may be drawn from appropriations.

The preparation of the statements of the annual receipts and expenditures of the Government, and of the tables accompanying the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The publication of the monthly statements of the public debt, and the preparation of the daily statement showing the financial condition of the Treasury.

The preparation of statistical tables relating to the finances, embracing all information connected with the receipts and expenditures of the Government from its foundation to the present time; and generally all matters connected with the foregoing.

*Division of Public Moneys—Chief, E. B. Daskam.*

The supervision of the several Independent Treasury offices, the designation of national-bank and other depositaries, and the obtaining from them of proper securities.

The keeping of a general account of receipts into the Treasury, the classification of such receipts, and the preparation of lists thereof on which to issue covering warrants.

The directing of all public officers, ex-

cept postmasters, as to the deposit of the public moneys collected by them.

The issue and enforcement of regulations governing Independent-Treasury officers, and the several depositaries and public disbursing officers, in the safe-keeping and disbursement of public moneys intrusted to them.

The supervision of the business pertaining to "outstanding liabilities," the issue and payment of duplicate checks, the transportation of public moneys and securities, and expenses thereof, and the expenses of the Independent Treasury offices.

The care and final disposition of moneys arising from fines, penalties, and forfeitures under the internal-revenue laws.

The direction for special transfers of public moneys; and generally, all matters pertaining to the foregoing.

*Division of Customs—Chief, H. B. James.*

The examination of all questions arising under the tariff laws, upon appeals from decisions of collectors of customs, involving the rates and amount of duties on imports; the consideration of cases involving errors in invoices and entries; refund and abatement of duties; drawback of customs duties on articles manufactured in the United States out of imported material, and establishing the rates of drawback.

The consideration of all questions arising upon the construction of the customs laws, and the general regulations thereunder, in regard to the entry, appraisal, and delivery of merchandise, and payment of duties thereon; correspondence with consular officers, through the Department of State, in regard to dutiable values, invoices, &c.; supervision of appraisers in securing uniformity of valuation of dutiable merchandise at the various ports; and compromises in customs cases.

Supervision of the seal fisheries in Alaska, and such other matters in that Territory as are placed by law in charge of the Secretary of the Treasury.

*Division of Internal Revenue and Navigation—Chief, D. Lyman.*

The examination of petitions for the remission of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, under the customs, internal-revenue, navigation and steamboat-inspection laws, and applications for compromise of claims in favor of the United States, except customs cases.

All internal-revenue business coming before this office except such as relates to appointments.

The examination of questions relating to the marine documents, entry, clearance, hypothecation, and admeasurement and ton-

nage of vessels, tax on tonnage, fees for the services of revenue officers, and the transportation of merchandise in vessels; and, generally, all business connected with the foregoing.

*Division of Loans and Currency—Chief,  
D. Baker.*

The supervision of the details of all matters pertaining to loans and the issue and redemption of United States bonds, including the details of negotiating United States interest-bearing securities; the preparation of orders for engraving and printing United States bonds; the original issue and delivery of bonds; the preparation and distribution of circulars designating bonds for redemption; the counting, cancellation, and record of bonds received for redemption; the cancellation and record of coupon bonds received for exchange for registered stock, and the preparation of vouchers for the issue of registered bonds; the examination and record of transfers of registered United States securities; notice of caveats filed against United States securities alleged to be destroyed, lost, or stolen, and, in connection therewith, the procuring of evidence for the courts and law officers of the department, and, in cases of reissue, the securing of the requisite indemnity for the Government; the record of issues of gold and currency certificates, and their cancellation upon redemption; and the receipt, counting, cancellation, record, and destruction of redeemed District of Columbia securities.

The supervision of all matters under the immediate charge of the Secretary of the Treasury relating to the counting, cancellation, record, and destruction of all redeemed and mutilated United States notes and fractional currency, and internal-revenue stamps redeemed or mutilated in printing.

The charge of the distinctive paper for United States notes, bonds, and currency, embracing its receipt from the superintendent at the manufactory; its issue upon proper requisitions; the keeping of accounts thereof with the superintendent at the manufactory, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the various bank-note companies, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Treasurer of the United States, and the Register of the Treasury, and other necessary accounts to show the disposition of said paper from the time of its manufacture until its final destruction as redeemed money and securities, or mutilations; a similar account of all paper used for internal-revenue stamps from the time of its receipt by the superintendent at the manufactory until its delivery to the Commissioner

of Internal Revenue in stamps; and, generally, all business relating to the foregoing.

*Division of Revenue Marine—Chief, S. I. Kimball.*

The management of the revenue-marine service, including the supervision of the building and equipment of revenue vessels, their repair, purchase, and sale; the assignment of cruising grounds; the assignment of officers to vessels; the purchase of outfit and supplies; the regulation of the complements of crews and their wages; the examination and certification of revenue-vessels' pay-rolls, and accounts of disbursements on account of the service by collectors of customs; the examination of the property accounts of officers; the preparation and enforcement of regulations for the examination, admission, and government of revenue-marine cadets; the preparation and enforcement of general regulations for the government of the service, &c.

The examination of all matters pertaining to the light-house establishment, placed by law in charge of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The examination of all matters relating to the United States coast survey coming before the Secretary. The charge of all matters relating to weights and measures upon which the Secretary is required by law to act.

The general superintendence of the life-saving service, embracing the supervision of the establishment of life-saving and life-boat stations, and houses of refuge; the selection of sites for the same, and the procurement of titles thereto; the preparation of plans and specifications for buildings; the making of contracts for their construction; the testing, selection, and purchase of their apparatus, equipment, and supplies; the organization of the service, and the preparation of regulations for the government of its officers and employees; the employment of crews and the regulation of their wages; the supervision of all expenditures and accounts connected with the service, and the general management of the service; the award of medals for the saving of life from the perils of the sea; the collection of statistics of marine disasters; the preparation of the annual report of the expenditures and operations of the life saving service, as required by law; and, generally, all business of the office connected with the foregoing subjects, except appointments.

*Division of Stationery, Printing, and Blanks—Chief, A. L. Sturtevant.*

The purchase and supply of stationery for the Department, sub-Treasuries, depo-

itories, United States mints, custom houses, revenue vessels, steamboat-inspection service, life-saving stations, marine hospitals, light-houses, and internal-revenue offices; and blanks and blank books for the same, except internal-revenue offices.

Supervision over the forms of books and blanks used by customs officers, with a view of securing uniformity in their methods of transacting business, and of the printing, binding, lithographing, and engraving for the department, except United States bonds and notes, United States currency, national-bank notes, and internal-revenue stamps.

The arrangement for publication and the indexing of the several reports and tables comprising the Finance Report.

The superintendence of the advertising of the department; the examination and reference to the proper officers of the accounts for such advertising; and the subscription for newspapers and periodicals.

The preparation and delivery to disbursing officers of the Government of all disbursing checks used by them, except pension checks; the charge and distribution of official postage stamps for the department; the custody and distribution of cigar stamps to officers of the customs; the examination of the accounts of those officers to see that such stamps are properly accounted for; and, generally, all business connected with the foregoing.

*Division of Special Agents—Special Agent  
A. K. Tingle in charge.*

The assignment and detail of special agents, and the examination of their accounts for compensation and traveling expenses, and the examination and reference of their reports.

The supervision and enforcement of measures for the prevention of smuggling and frauds on the customs revenue.

Supervision over the customs districts, the acts of customs officers, and the examination of their books, papers, and accounts, with a view of enforcing the customs laws and regulations, correcting and preventing irregularities, and promoting uniformity of methods and securing efficiency in the transaction of the customs business.

Supervision of the transportation of merchandise in bond, including the examination of the reports of collectors of customs at ports of shipment and of arrival; and the investigation of cases arising from alleged irregularities in connection with such transportation.

The examination and approval of bonds for customs warehouses and bonded routes.

The enforcement of the laws and regulations governing the trade with Mexico and

Canada, so far as relates to the establishment of bonded routes and mode of transportation.

*Disbursing Clerk—Bushrod Birch.*

The payment of salaries and compensation of the officers and employes in the following-named offices: Office of the Secretary of the Treasury; office of the Second Auditor; office of the Supervising Architect; office of the Supervising Surgeon General of Marine Hospitals; office of the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam-vessels; division of loans in the office of the First Auditor; division of loans in the office of the Treasurer; the payment of the salaries and compensation of temporary clerks in the department; salaries and compensation of special agents; salaries and compensation of custodians and janitors of all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department; salaries and compensation of all inspectors of steamboats.

The disbursement, upon the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, of such moneys as may be placed in his hands from the following appropriations, together with the keeping and rendering of the necessary accounts connected therewith: Expenses of collecting the revenue from customs; expenses of the revenue-cutter service; life-saving service, contingent expenses; establishment of new life-saving stations; vaults, safes, and locks for public buildings; plans for public buildings; contingent expenses, Independent Treasury; contingent expenses, Treasury Department, (eleven appropriations;) various appropriations for the erection and repairs of public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department throughout the country; also all other moneys from other appropriations that may be from time to time placed in his charge by the Secretary.

*Disbursing Clerk—Thomas J. Hobbs.*

The payment of the salaries and compensation of the officers and employes in the following-named offices: Office of the First Comptroller; office of the Second Comptroller; office of the First Auditor; office of the Third Auditor; office of the Fourth Auditor; office of the Fifth Auditor; office of the Treasurer; office of the Comptroller of the Currency; office of the Commissioner of Customs; office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue; office of the Light-House Board; office of the Director of the Mint; Bureau of Statistics.

The disbursement, upon the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, of such moneys as may be placed in his hands from the following appropriations, together with the keeping and rendering of the necessary accounts connected therewith: refunding the

national debt; services and expenses of the Southern Claims Commission; inquiry into the causes of steam-boiler explosions; Treasury building, Washington, D. C.; propagation of food-fishes; inquiry respecting food-fishes; illustrations of report respecting food-fishes; repairs and preservation of public buildings; furniture and repairs of same, for public buildings; fuel, lights, and water for public buildings; heating and hoisting apparatus for public buildings; assessing and collecting internal revenue; punishment for violation of internal revenue laws; salaries and expenses of supervisors and subordinate officers of internal revenue; stamps, paper, and dies; salaries, Bureau of Engraving and Printing; labor and expenses of engraving and printing; transportation of United States securities; incidental expenses, national currency—office of the Treasurer of the United States; also all other moneys from other appropriations that may be from time to time placed in his charge by the Secretary.

Each chief of division will be expected to attend strictly to the business of the division of which he has charge, and to abstain from any interference with that assigned to other divisions.

All questions relating to business belonging to two or more divisions will be settled by consultation and arrangement between the chiefs of the divisions interested, and in case of disagreement, the matter in dispute will be submitted to the Chief Clerk.

#### *Officers and Bureaus.*

All matters of business relating to the offices of the Director of the Mint, the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam-vessels, the Supervising Architect, the Supervising Surgeon General of Marine Hospitals, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Bureau of Statistics, requiring the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury, and all letters for his signature, or that of either of the Assistant Secretaries, relating thereto, will be prepared in the offices to which they respectively pertain.

The Chief Clerk will superintend the changes made necessary by this order, and will see that its provisions are carried into effect; and he will call the attention of the Secretary to any defects observed in the arrangement, assignment, or performance of the duties herein imposed, with a view to their correction.

Any officer or employe attached to the Secretary's office must feel at liberty to call on the Secretary and state to him any event or well-grounded belief, on his part, that affects the integrity of the service or the official conduct of any one employed in it.

JOHN SHERMAN, Secretary.

#### PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary—John Sherman.

Assistant Secretary—Richard C. McCormick.

Assistant Secretary—Henry F. French.  
Chief Clerk—J. K. Upton.

Chief of Division of Appointments—T. C. H. Smith; Assistant Chief—Geo. N. Lamphere.

Chief of Division of Warrants, Estimates, and Appropriations—J. T. Power; Assistant Chief—W. F. MacLennan.

Chief of Division of Public Moneys—E. B. Daskam; Assistant Chief—Wm. B. Morgan.

Chief of Division of Customs—H. B. James; Assistant Chief—Thos. B. Sanders.

Chief of Division of Internal Revenue and Navigation—D. Lyman.

Chief of Division of Loans and Currency—Daniel Baker; Assistant Chief—Wm. Fletcher; Assistant Chief—Chas. H. Brown.

Chief of Division of Revenue Marine—S. I. Kimball; Assistant Chief—E. W. Clark, Jr.

Chief of Division of Stationery, Printing, and Blanks—A. L. Sturtevant; Assistant Chief—Chas. Lyman.

Division of Special Agents—A. K. Tingley, in charge.

Records, Files, and Mail, Assistant Chief in charge—S. A. Johnson.

Stenographer to the Secretary—E. J. Babcock.

Custodian of the Treasury Building—O. L. Pitney.

Disbursing Clerks—Bushrod Birch and Thos. J. Hobbs.

Chief of Bureau of Engraving and Printing—Edward McPherson; Assistant Chief—O. H. Irish.

Director of the Mint—H. R. Linderman.  
Supervising Architect—J. G. Hill; Chief Clerk—H. G. Jacobs.

Supervising Inspector-General of Steam-boats—J. A. Dumont.

Chief of the Bureau of Statistics—Edward Young; Chief Clerk—E. B. Elliott.

Chairman of the Light-House Board—Prof. Jos. Henry; Naval Secretary—Commander J. G. Walker, U. S. N.; Engineer Secretary—Major P. C. Haines, U. S. A.; Chief Clerk—A. B. Johnson.

Supervising Surgeon-General—John M. Woodworth, M. D.; Chief Clerk—Oscar Oldberg.

First Comptroller—R. W. Tayler; Deputy First Comptroller—J. Tarbell.

Second Comptroller—C. C. Carpenter; Deputy Second Comptroller—Jas. S. DeLano.

Commissioner of Customs—H. C. John-

son; Deputy Commissioner of Customs—H. A. Lockwood.

First Auditor—D. W. Mahon; Deputy First Auditor—H. K. Leaver.

Second Auditor—E. B. French; Deputy Second Auditor—Charles F. Herring.

Third Auditor—Horace Austin; Deputy Third Auditor—A. M. Gangewer.

Fourth Auditor—S. J. W. Tabor; Deputy Fourth Auditor—Wm. B. Moore.

Fifth Auditor—J. H. Ela; Deputy Fifth Auditor—J. B. Mann.

Sixth Auditor—J. M. McGrew; Deputy Sixth Auditor—F. B. Lilley.

Treasurer—James Gilfillan; Assistant Treasurer—A. U. Wyman; Cashier—Southwick Guthrie; Chief Clerk—D. W. Harrington.

Superintendent N. B. R. Agency—E. O. Graves.

Register—John Allison; Deputy Register—Wm. P. Titcomb.

Comptroller of the Currency—John Jay Knox; Deputy Comptroller of the Currency—J. S. Langworthy.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue—Green B. Raum; Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue—H. C. Rogers; Chief Clerk—A. H. Holt.

Superintendent Cost Survey—C. P. Patterson; Assistant in charge of office—J. E. Hilgard.

#### FOUR PER CENT. BONDS—IMPORTANT OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY IN RELATION THERETO.

At the Cabinet meeting, June 19, the following letter in regard to the payment of the new four per cent. bonds was submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury and agreed upon:

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT, June 19, 1877.**  
*Francis O. French, esq., 94 Broadway, N. Y.*

SIR: Your letter of the 18th instant, in which you inquire whether the four per cent. bonds now being sold by the Government are payable, principal and interest, in gold coin is received. The subject, from its great importance, has demanded and received careful consideration.

Under laws now in force, there is no coin issued or issuable in which the principal of the four per cent. bonds is redeemable, or the interest payable, except the gold coins of the United States of the standard value fixed by laws in force on the 14th of July, 1870, when the bonds were authorized.

The Government exacts in exchange for these bonds payment at their face value in such gold coin, and it is not to be anticipated that any future legislation of Congress or

any action of any Department of the Government would sanction or tolerate the redemption of the principal of these bonds or the payment of the interest thereon in coin of less value than the coin authorized by law at the time of the issue of the bonds, being the coin exacted by the Government in exchange for the same.

The essential element of good faith in preserving the equality in value between the coinage in which the Government receives and that in which it pays these bonds will be sacredly observed by the Government and the people of the United States, whatever may be the system of coinage which the general policy of the nation may at any time adopt.

This principle is impressed upon the text of the law of July 14, 1870, under which the four per cent. bonds are issued, and requires in the opinion of the Executive Department of the Government, the redemption of these bonds, and the payment of their interest in coin of equal value with that which the Government receives upon their issue.

Very respectfully,  
JOHN SHERMAN, Secretary.

#### POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

##### POST OFFICE ADMINISTRATION—SLIGHT ENCOURAGEMENT FOR COMPLAINTS OF INJUSTICE TO POLITICAL CLAIMANTS.

A few days ago a number of clerks who had been discharged by the recently appointed Postmaster from the Post Office of one of the largest cities of the West, visited Washington to lay their grievances before Postmaster General Key, and to give some advice as to the conduct of the administration. They represented that the new Postmaster had discharged faithful and efficient clerks—themselves—and appointed inexperienced and inefficient clerks in their stead, and, moreover, that the present Postmaster was not loyal to the administration; that by appointments and other acts, as well as by words spoken, he had manifested a hostility to the Southern policy of the administration, for which offenses they asked his removal and the appointment of some one who would appreciate their political and official devotion. The Postmaster General informed them that he would take their papers and lay the case before the President. The following copy of an autograph letter, written by Judge Key, shows the result:

**POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,**  
*Washington, D. C., June 18, 1877.*  
DEAR SIRS: I have seen the President,

and presented to him the papers you filed in this department in reference to the Post Office at —, and we have carefully considered the same. Your records seem to be good, and your testimony is strong. It appears from the evidence in the department that the office is well conducted at present, and that a special agent has made a favorable report as to its present organization and management, so that the public is not suffering for the want of good service. The office is well managed now, so that the complaints made are more in the nature of a private than a public grievance. It may be, and I do not undertake to say how that is, that you were not properly treated by the present Postmaster; but yet he has a force which is discharging efficiently the duties of the office. To remove the Postmaster might deprive these persons of their positions, as the resignation of the predecessor of the incumbent deprived you of yours; so that if wrong has occurred, it would not be redressed by such procedure, but might be enlarged and extended. The Post Office is not a political institution. If it be true, as you state, that the incumbent opposes the policy of the Administration, that he has a right to do and it is no cause of removal unless in his zeal and activity he sink the Postmaster in the politician. If any one, whether he support or oppose the Administration, neglects his duty by being a busy politician, or makes himself obnoxious by reason of inconsiderate and foolish zeal, he ought to be removed. But if he attends faithfully to his duties, and makes a good and acceptable Postmaster, he should not be removed, though he see fit to oppose the Administration. The President finds no sufficient cause for a change in the — Post Office. Very truly,

D. M. KEY, Postmaster General.

**GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.  
NO EMPLOYMENT TO BE OBTAINED—A CARD  
FROM THE PUBLIC PRINTER.**

The following circular has been issued by the Public Printer, Hon. John D. Defrees:

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PRINTER,  
WASHINGTON, June 18, 1877.

It is now more than 16 years since the establishment of the Government Printing Office. Since that time compositors, pressmen, and book-binders have come here from every part of the country for employment. Many of them obtained it, and have, by hard work and economy, secured homes for their families, which in many instances have not been entirely paid for; others who do not own houses, rent them or board, and nearly all have families to support out of

their daily earnings. There are now more sober industrious, and capable workmen of this character here than can at any time be employed. It would be unjust and cruel to discharge any of these workmen merely to put others from a distance in their places, and it will not be done. As letters have been received from a great number of persons asking employment, it is deemed best to adopt this method of informing all concerned that it cannot be had, so that the expense of coming here may be avoided. It must also be understood that the establishment cannot be made either a religious, political, or charitable institution. It is a great workshop, the most extensive publishing house in the world, and must be managed with the same regard to economy as is observed by the managers of similar private workshops, or else it were better for the Government to abolish it.

JOHN D. DEFREES, Public Printer.

SEVERAL GENTLEMEN, who were connected with the commission on civil-service reform under President Grant, are now engaged, by the direction of President Hayes, in the preparation of rules on the same subject to operate in all public offices throughout the country.

**KEEP YOUR TROUBLES SACRED.**—A worthy wife of forty years' standing, and whose life was made up of sunshine and peace, gave the following sensible advice to a married pair of her acquaintance. The advice is so good and so well suited to all married people as well as those who intend entering that state, that we here publish it for the benefit of such persons: Preserve sacred the privacies of your own house, your married state and your heart. Let no father or mother, sister or brother, ever presume to come between you two, or to share the joys and sorrows that belong to you two alone. With God's help, build your own quiet world, not allowing your dearest earthly friend to be the confidant of aught that concerns your domestic peace. Let moments of alienation, if they occur, be healed at once. Never—no—never speak of it outside; but to each other confess, and all will come out right. Never let the morrow's sun still find you at variance. Review and renew your vow; it will do you good, and thereby your souls will grow together, cemented in that love which is stronger than death, and you will become truly one.



E.

L

Are  
paper

used

U  
F

A  
Tr  
of

the

Tissue  
Hoover

E. N. FRESHMAN &amp; BROS.,

## ADVERTISING AGENTS,

186 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.

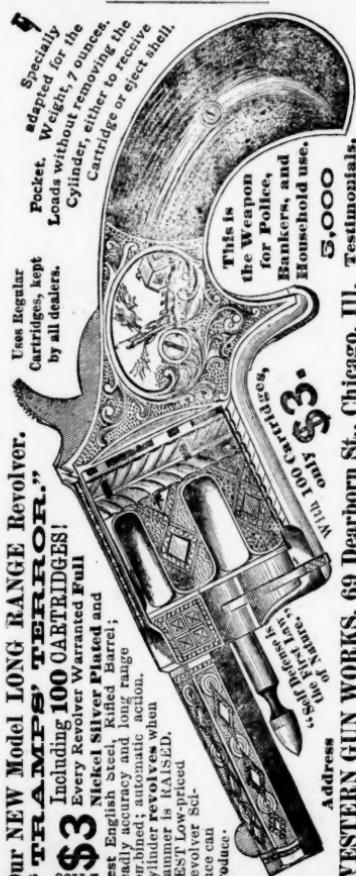
Are authorized to receive advertisements for this paper. Estimates furnished free upon application.  
Send two stamps for our Advertisers' Manual.

## UNEQUALLED OFFER.

### Full Nickel Silver Plated 7 Shot Revolvers as Premiums.

### A MONTH'S AMMUNITION FREE

Tramps, Burglars and Thieves infest all parts of the Country. Every One Should go Armed.



Our NEW Model LONG RANGE Revolver.  
"TRAMP'S TERROR."

Including 100 CARTRIDGES!  
\$3.00

Every Revolver WARRANTED FULL  
Nickel Silver Plated and  
Best English Steel, Rifled Barrel;  
deadly accuracy and long range  
combined; automatic action.  
Cylinder revolved when  
Hammer is RAISED.  
BEST Low-spiced  
Revolver Science can  
produce.

"Sell Detergent,"  
the Nature  
of Address

WESTERN GUN WORKS, 69 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

CUT OUT THIS CERTIFICATE AND RETURN WITH THREE DOLLARS.

### WESTERN GUN WORKS PREMIUM CERTIFICATE.

A BOX OF EXTRA FINE TARGET CARTRIDGES FREE!

THE WESTERN GUN WORKS hereby agrees, on receipt of this CERTIFICATE and THREE DOLLARS to send one full box of Extra Fine Target Cartridges, mounted in a leather case, to any person who sends us his name and address. Extra Fine Target Cartridges are only intended for holders of this Premium Certificate and are not sold in any other way. Also, Shell Ejector and Cleaning Tools complete, all in elegant case. This offer only holds good for THIRTY DAYS from the date stamped hereon. Fill out address below in full and inclose it with \$3.00 to WESTERN GUN WORKS, 69 Dearborn St., CHICAGO, ILL, and you will receive promptly the Revolver, Extra Long Range Cartridges and entire outfit. Return by C. O. D. Order Registered Letter postage paid or money order, and only entities to the Extra Long Range Gun can command by using C. O. D. Order. Extra Long Range Gun commands extra \$1.00 at retail. Extra Long Range Gun commands extra \$1.00 at retail.

Extra Long Range Gun commands extra \$1.00 at retail.



## FITS EPILEPSY,

## OR FALLING SICKNESS.

Permanently cured—no humbug—by one month's usage of Dr. GOURLARD'S CELEBRATED INFALLIBLE FIT POWDERS. To convince sufferers that these powders will do all the claim for them, we will send them by mail, post paid, a Free Trial Box. As Dr. Gouillard is the only physician that has ever made this disease a special study, and as to our knowledge they usually have been permanently cured by the use of these Powders, we will guarantee a permanent cure in every case, or refund you all money expended. All sufferers should give these Powders an early trial, and be convinced of their curative powers.

Price for large box, \$3.00, or 4 boxes for \$10.00, sent by mail to any part of the United States or Canada on receipt of price, or by express, C. O. D. Address,

ASH & ROBBINS,

360 FULTON STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

### ALEXANDER & MASON,

ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,  
607 SEVENTH STREET,  
WASHINGTON D. C.

Solicitors of American and Foreign Patents.

VOL. 8.

PREMIUMS.

1877.

## THE REPUBLIC MAGAZINE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

TO ANY PERSON SENDING

*A Club of Ten Subscribers for the Current Year and \$20,*  
THE PUBLISHERS WILL FORWARD, FREE OF COST AND POSTAGE,

A COMPLETE SET, FIRST THREE VOLUMES, OF THE REPUBLIC,  
HANDSOMELY BOUND, WITH INDEX.

TO ANY PERSON SENDING

*A Club of Fifteen Subscribers and \$30,*  
A COMPLETE SET, FIRST FOUR VOLUMES, OF THE REPUBLIC.

*For Twenty Subscribers,*

VOLS. 1 TO 6 WILL BE GIVEN AS A PREMIUM.

TO THE PERSON SENDING

*The Largest Club in any Month, being more than 20,*  
A COMPLETE SET, INCLUDING THE SEVENTH VOLUME,

Which closed with the December number of 1876, all neatly bound, with index, and  
free of cost or postage.

These propositions afford an opportunity to acquire, with little effort, the best text-  
book extant on the science of government.

REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

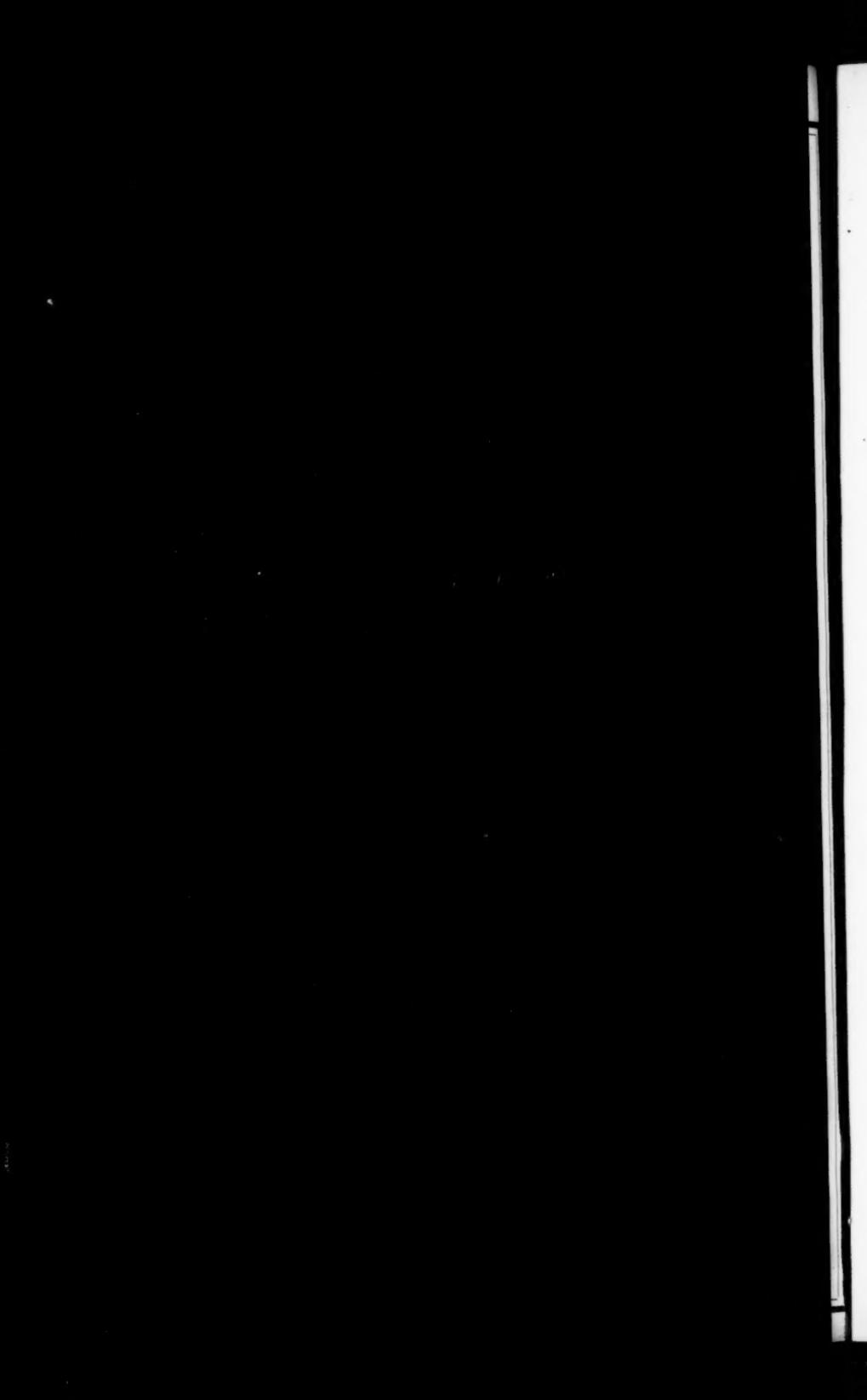
## PATENTS.

**F. A. LEHMAN,**

*Attorney-at-Law, and Solicitor of American and  
Foreign Patents,*  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PATENTS, REISSUES, CAVEATS, DESIGNS, and TRADE MARKS promptly  
obtained, and no charges made unless successful. SUITS FOR INFRINGEMENT  
OF PATENTS, and all cases arising out of patents before the courts, vigorously prose-  
cuted. Consultations free.

only  
NT  
ose-



THE REPUBLIC MAGAZINE FOR APRIL.

DEPOT OF  
Botanic Medicines,  
CORK-FILLING WATER COOLERS

AND

REFRIGERATORS.

LARRABEE'S

Rheumatic Liniment

OR

PAIN EXTRACTOR,

FOR EXTERNAL APPLICATION.

Also of his own preparing, Ginger, Black Pepper, African Cayenne, Mustard, and other Spices, warranted PURE, for family use, in 2 ounces,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. packages; Sage, Sweet Basil, Summer Savory, Sweet Marjoram, Thyme, and all kinds of Shaker Herbs.

MANUFACTURED BY

W. M. H. RANDLE,

(Successor to E. Larrabee.)

22 South Calvert Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

ESTABLISHED 1862.

D. E. SOMES.

F. C. SOMES.

D. E. SOMES & CO.,

SOLICITORS OF

PATENTS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO EXTENSIONS, RE-ISSUES, INTERFERENCE CASES, AND TRADE MARKS.

We employ the best artists in drawings and give special attention to the careful wording of the claims.

*Information Furnished.*

WE REFER, BY PERMISSION, TO

Hon. James G. Blaine, U. S. Senator, Maine.  
Z. Chandler, ex-Secretary of the Interior.  
A. H. Cragin, ex-U. S. Senator, New Hampshire.  
H. Hamlin, U. S. Senator, Maine.  
P. W. Hitchcock, U. S. Senator, Nebraska.  
J. S. Morrill, U. S. Senator, Vermont.  
J. S. Farnsworth, M. C., Illinois.  
Wm. S. Holman, ex-M. C., Indiana.  
H. W. Parker, M. C., New Hampshire.  
E. H. Rollins, U. S. Senator, New Hampshire.  
J. W. McClurg, late Governor of Missouri.  
Wm. Lawrence, M. C., Ohio.  
Sidney Eagerton, Akron, Ohio.  
Alexander H. Rice, Governor of Mass.  
James M. Ashley, Ohio.  
John Hutchins, Ohio.  
Robert McKnight, Pennsylvania.  
E. B. Spaulding, Barker, Buffalo, N. Y.  
Alfred Ely, Rochester, New York.  
R. E. Fenton, ex-U. S. Senator, New York.  
F. E. Spinner, ex-U. S. Treasurer.  
John N. Goodwin, late Gov. of Arizona.  
John T. Nixon, Judge U. S. Court, N. J.

CUT THIS OUT  
It is Worth \$5.00.

To every reader of this magazine who sends us this certificate and \$1.00 we will forward, for one year, "THE TREASURE," a magnificent Illustrated Monthly Journal and Housekeepers' Magazine, and one copy of our new and elegant premium Chromo, entitled

"ASKING A BLESSING,"

a masterpiece of the Dusseldorf School of genre painting, by Prof. Jordan, size 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ , executed in the highest style of art, retail price of which is \$5.00, and a copy of the following beautiful poem descriptive of the Chromo, in elegant illuminated colors for framing:

Ay, but wait, good wife, a minute;  
I have first a word to say;  
Do you know what day to-day is?

Mother, 'tis our wedding-day!

Just as now, we sat at supper  
When the guests had gone away:  
You sat that side, I sat this side,  
Forty years ago to-day!

Then what plans we laid together;  
What brave things I meant to do!  
Could we dream to-day would find us  
At this table—me and you.

Better so, no doubt—and yet I  
Sometimes think—I cannot tell—  
Had our boy—ah, yes! I know, dear:  
Yes, He doeth all things well.

Well, we've had our joys and sorrows,  
Shared our smiles as well as tears;  
And—the best of all—I've had your  
Faithful love for forty years.

Poor we've been, but not forsaken;  
Grief we've known, but never shame.  
Father, for Thy endless mercies,  
Still we bless Thy holy name!

AGENTS

This is a rare chance for you  
to make money. We will  
pay you large cash commis-  
sions and give you exclusive  
territory. Send us one dollar, avoid unnecessary  
correspondence, receive your territory, and go to  
work at once. Upon receipt of which we will for-  
ward Agent's outfit, Certificate of Agency, &c.

Address

THE TREASURE PUBLISHING CO.,  
No. 49 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK.

REIGART'S  
American and Foreign  
PATENT AGENCY.

OFFICE: CORNER EIGHTH AND F STS.,  
Fronting U. S. Patent and General Post Office,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Where all business relating to patents will be  
promptly attended to.

DRAWINGS, SPECIFICATIONS, ETC.,  
Executed in the best manner by the undersigned,  
Late an Examiner in the U. S. Patent Office.

J. Franklin Reigart,  
Solicitor.

THE REPUBLIC MAGAZINE FOR APRIL.

If brothers will **SEND** in the name of some good business man, who will attend to the business for them, we will forward the necessary blanks and instructions,

**AND YOU**

can then make application through him, to become a member of the "ODD FELLOWS' BENEVOLENT SOCIETY," of Chicago, Illinois.

Each member is assessed according to his age or liability, so that the young men do not have to pay for the old.

Your heirs

**WILL RECEIVE**

a benefit which is limited to

**\$5,000**

and when 60 per cent. of the total amount exceeds \$5,000, the amount to be collected from each member decreases

**IN**

the same ratio. We mail to each member a notice, giving the name, number of Lodge, and date of death, and the assessments are due

**THIRTY**

days from the date of said notice. We have received more members the first year than any association ever organized for the same purpose, and

**DAYS**

\*  
will come when the

**"O. F. B. SOCIETY,"**

of Chicago, Ill., will have a larger membership than any Life Insurance Company ever organized.

Office, 112 E. RANDOLPH STREET,

S. L. HURST, Secretary and Actuary,

CHICAGO, ILL.

# Pennsylvania Railroad.

## THE OLD ESTABLISHED ROUTE AND SHORT LINE

BETWEEN

BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON, RICHMOND, WATKIN'S GLEN, CHICAGO, CINCINNATI, ROCHESTER, LOUISVILLE, PITTSBURGH, ST. LOUIS,

And all parts of the West, Northwest and Southwest.

PARLOR AND PALACE SLEEPING CARS ON ALL THROUGH TRAINS.

Tickets Sold, and information given in regard to Trains, &c., at the following

### OFFICES OF THE COMPANY :

BOSTON.—Nos. 203 and 205 Washington Street.

NEW YORK.—No. 526 Broadway, No. 1 Astor House, No. 944 Broadway, No. 8 Battery Place, Depot foot of Desbrosses Street, Depot foot of Courtlandt Street, Depot Jersey City.

PHILADELPHIA.—No. 838 Chestnut Street, S. E. Corner Broad and Chestnut Streets, No. 116 Market Street, Depot Thirty-second and Market Streets, Depot foot of Market Street, Depot Front and Berks Streets; No. 4 Chelton Avenue, Germantown.

BALTIMORE.—N. E. Corner Baltimore and Calvert Streets; Calvert Station, N. C. Railway; Union Depot, Charles Street.

WASHINGTON.—N. E. Corner Thirteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. E. Corner Sixth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue; Depot Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, Corner Sixth and B Streets.

RICHMOND.—No. 826 Main Street; Depot R. F. and P. R. R., Corner Eighth and Byrd Streets; Exchange Hotel.

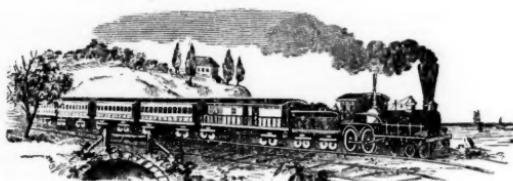
And Principal Ticket Offices on the Route, in New England and the South.

FRANK THOMSON, D. M. BOYD, JR., General Manager. General Passenger Agent.

**R. H. MARSH,**

940 F St., Washington, D. C.

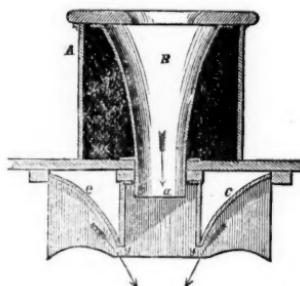
**CLAIMS, PATENTS, INSURANCE.**



## Improved Ventilator for Railway Closets.

Patented April 11, 1876.

The annexed cut represents a section of the water-closet seat and basin pipe of a railway car, with the Improved Ventilator attachment under the floor of the car.



The motion of the train in either direction causes the air to pass downward through the forward funnel c, creating a vacuum at the base of the pipe a, thus securing a downward current through the basin pipe B.

The attention of Railway Companies and all others interested in the health and comfort of the traveling public is invited to the Improved Ventilator, represented in the above cut. Its simplicity commands it to all who have examined it. It effectually prevents the upward draft in the discharge pipe of Railway water-closets, thereby cutting off the

### NOXIOUS GASES, DUST, WIND, AND CINDERS,

which have hitherto found their way into the cars through the closet hoppers. The Improved Ventilator has been recently tried upon the cars of the Maine Central Railroad and the Portland and Rochester Road, and the following certificates confirm fully the advantages claimed for it by the inventor:

MAINE CENTRAL RAILROAD,  
PORTLAND, ME., January 4, 1877.

LUTHER JONES, Esq., Lewiston, Me.:

DEAR SIR: We have now on the cars of this road sixteen of your Improved Ventilators for water closets. We find they possess all the advantages you claim for them, and exactly answer the purpose for which they are intended.

Yours truly,

PAYSON TUCKER,  
Superintendent.

PORTLAND AND ROCHESTER RAILROAD,  
PORTLAND, ME., January 31, 1877.

LUTHER JONES:

DEAR SIR: We have tried your Ventilator for water closets. It works first-rate, and is one of the most desirable improvements for the comfort of the traveling public that has been made. We shall use them on all our passenger cars.

Yours truly,

J. M. LUNT,  
Superintendent.

### THE TRAVELING PUBLIC

will at once recognize the vital necessity of this improvement and fully appreciate the comfort and protection which it affords. It can be placed upon any car at a small expense, and without any alteration of car. Upon receipt of five dollars one will be furnished for trial.

Address

*Luther Jones,*  
Lewiston, Maine,  
SOLE AGENT FOR THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

# Press Notices of the Republic Magazine.

It contains much valuable reading.—Eagle, Union City, Ind.

Presents an attractive table of contents.—News, Waldboro', Me.

It is, in fact, a record of the nation.—Locomotive, Stuart, Iowa.

We cannot too highly recommend it.—News, Fayetteville, Ark.

A sterling and ably edited Magazine.—Grand Era, Baton Rouge, La.

Commends itself to us very highly.—Pioneer, St. John the Baptist, La.

Supplies a want long felt by public men.—Chronicle, Lebanon, Mo.

Its contents are varied and interesting.—The Shaft, Osage City, Kansas.

Replete with matters of more than ordinary interest.—Record, Butler, Mo.

Should find its way into every household in the Union.—Mail, Dakota City, Neb.

A seventy-page monthly, and is one of the best of our exchanges.—Globe, Flint, Mich.

Beyond question the ablest political Magazine published.—Journal, La Cygne, Kansas.

In its particular line it is one of the best monthlies published.—Globe, Golden, Colorado.

The articles are characterized by great ability and moderation.—Sentinel, Lemars, Iowa.

Of all the Magazines on our table, the one we prize the most is The Republic.—Journal, Galva, Ill.

A well-printed and well-managed octavo, each number containing 64 pages.—Morning Star, Dover, N. H.

Some of its contents we have republished in the Pilot—the remainder are all good.—Pilot, Jackson, Miss.

Well filled with interesting and instructive matters pertaining to politics.—Banner, Black River Falls, Wis.

Well conducted and many reliable facts of information can monthly be found in its pages.—Republican, Savannah, Mo.

A neat, sixty-four page monthly Magazine, devoted to the dissemination of political information.—Pilgrim, James Creek, Pa.

It is needless to add that its articles are elaborately and carefully written.—Eastern Chronicle, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.

Should have a wide circulation, and it would thus wield an influence for good on the public mind.—Times, Sheboygan, Wis.

We do not know of any work of this size and price that contains so much valuable information.—Gazette, Onawa City, Iowa.

Every political man ought to have this Magazine, as it contains valuable information on the politics of the day.—Record, Buchanan, Mich.

Ful of information for politicians, and all interested in the doings of the Government and Government officials.—Times, Perry, Kansas.

The Republic, published at Washington, D. C., at \$2 per annum, is one of the best political Magazines in the country.—Sentinel, Centralia, Ill.

It is just what we want and intend to keep on our desk to refer to, as a complete depository of knowledge of current political events.—Review, Decatur, Ill.

A work of decided merit, and almost indispensable to those who wish to keep thoroughly posted in regard to our national affairs.—Advertiser Journal, Ithaca, Mich.

Of immense interest to all who would be well versed in political transactions, and in everything of importance that pertains to the Government.—Republic, Princeton, Wis.

It is a real political Magazine, and should be in

the hands of every man who would be informed upon all of the political questions of the day.—Schuyler (Neb.) Register.

If the promise of the number before us be fulfilled by those that follow, it will certainly be one of the most valuable political Magazines ever issued in this country.—Gazette, Lancaster, Ohio.

The Republic is devoted "to the dissemination of political information," and we earnestly recommend it as worthy the active and liberal support of Republicans everywhere.—Celina (Ohio) Journal.

Conducted, as it is, with great ability, it will prove a valuable acquisition to the politicians of the country who are seeking after correct information in this day of enlightened and progressive public opinion.—Citizen and Gazette, Urbana, Ohio.

A new political monthly.—We have received a copy of The Republic, a monthly Magazine devoted to the dissemination of political information. It is a valuable periodical, and one of which we will have more to say at no distant day.—Monitor, Marion, Ind.

The Republic is well printed, will contain not less than forty-eight pages of reading matter, and will be furnished at \$2 per annum; single copies 25 cents. Letters may be addressed to the Republic Publishing Company, Washington, D. C.—Free Press, Waltham, Mass.

We commend The Republic, an ably edited magazine, to all persons desiring correct information on matters of a national political character. All questions are discussed in a manner and style not usually within the scope of the daily press.—Marion (Va.) Chronicle.

We have received the first number of The Republic. The times and the necessities of our political relations demand just such a work. Every Republican who wishes to be versed in the real, true history of our Government as it transpires would do well to send for it.—South Jersey Republican, Hammonton, N. J.

The Republic is a publication much needed, and we trust will receive a liberal patronage in Arkansas. The ablest writers and thinkers of the party will contribute to its pages, and we commend it especially to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the views of leading minds on great issues.—Fayetteville (Ark.) News.

We have received No. 2 (April) of The Republic, a monthly magazine published at Washington, D. C. We expressed a favorable opinion of this magazine on receipt of the first number, and it is not necessary to repeat. It is a very useful publication. The entire contents are interesting to all intelligent readers.—Harrisburg (Pa.) Daily Telegraph.

The Republic will be a thesaurus of political literature mainly, and will bring under review, by the ablest statesmen, all matters of political economy and action, with governmental policy and measures. It will embody a large amount of reliable statistics and valuable information, which every intelligent citizen will think it important to have.—Vassar Pioneer, Mich.

The March number of a new monthly Magazine bearing the title of The Republic is on our table. It hails from Washington, D. C., and is devoted to the dissemination of political information. If the promise of this, the initial number, be fulfilled by those to follow, it will certainly be one of the most valuable political Magazines ever issued in this country.—Lancaster (Ohio) Gazette.

The first number of The Republic, now upon our table, contains several able articles upon topics that usually interest reading people irrespective of any political opinions which they may entertain. The subscription price is only \$2 per year. More reading matter for the same amount than can be found in most of the monthlies with which we are acquainted.—National Index, Tyler, Smith County, Texas.

